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JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS

BY ALEYN LYELL READE

PART V

THE DOCTOR'S  
LIFE

1728-1735

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## PREFACE

**A**POLOGIES are due to my subscribers for the long delay that has occurred since Part IV. was issued early in 1924. This delay, however, has not been due to any slackening of effort on my part, but to the fact that the preparation of Part V. has entailed such an exceptional amount of hard work. The researches in connexion with the records of Pembroke College, which were the last undertaken, have alone involved well over a year's labour in one way and another.

These College records, which, at first inspection, promised very little help, have been made, by intensive study, to yield up a good many secrets. The long debated question of whether Johnson ever returned to College after he left in December 1729 has been definitely settled, after nearly a century of argument, and we can now at least say that, wherever he was in 1730 and for the greater part of 1731, it was not at Oxford. The removal of all doubt on the point has done much to clarify the story of his life at this period. The whole chronology of the seven years that elapsed between his entering the University in 1728, and his marriage in 1735, is now placed on a much more secure foundation.

It is not necessary to say much about the contents of this Part, which follows on from its immediate predecessors and explains itself. The application of scientific method to biographical research, which I am endeavouring in this series to carry to a higher point than it has ever been carried before, is the basis of its construction; and it is almost as much as an example of such constructive analysis as an extension of our knowledge of Johnson's life and circle that I offer it to those whose kindly sympathy and support enables me, though with increasing difficulty, to pursue those ideals of literary research developed in me during a long apprenticeship.

Again I have to thank friends who have ungrudgingly done all in their power to help me in my various enquiries. Firstly, I must name Mr. L. F. Powell, Taylorian Librarian



at Oxford, who, though constantly occupied in his own heavy task of revising Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life*, has always been ready to answer any conundrum I put to him, and particularly to forward my enquiries in regard to the College records and to assist solution of all those puzzling points of College and University procedure that arose to check me at every turn. The help and advice of Mr. Leonard Whibley, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was also of vital importance in regard to the question of Johnson's stay at Oxford. The interesting evidence discovered by Mr. A. W. Read, relating to Market Bosworth School, will be found in the account of the Rev. John Crompton. There are many others, too, whose invaluable help has been acknowledged in its proper place, but whom I cannot mention here.

It must not be thought that the Appendices, which occupy more than half the book, are to be treated as dead matter. They contain an immense amount of information which is often touched upon very briefly, if at all, in the narrative portion, and will well repay study by those who are likely to read this book.

The last few Parts have grown to a size not justified economically, and for the future I shall have to be rather less generous to my subscribers as regards the number of printed pages. Part VI. will deal with Johnson's career from his marriage in 1735 down to 1740, the year which marked his final severance, except as an honoured visitor in later life, from the Midland area where he was born and bred.

ALEYN LYELL READE.

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Nr. Liverpool.*

31 December, 1927.

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# THE DOCTOR'S LIFE 1728-1735

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### HIS ENTRY AT OXFORD

*The money problem—Mrs. Harriotts' legacy—Cost of University education in those days—Possible help from outside sources—Did his godfather Dr. Swynfen or other local gentlemen assist?—His schoolfellow Andrew Corbet said to have promised him help—Reasons for choosing Pembroke College—Kindred and friends who had preceded him there—Enters the College as a commoner—His father accompanies him and introduces him to William Jorden, the college tutor—The shy undergraduate quotes Macrobius.*

IN concluding my account of Johnson's boyhood, I raised the question as to the financial conditions that permitted the sadly impoverished old bookseller, now in his seventy-second year, to enter his son at the University of Oxford; and suggested that an explanation might be found in the legacy of £40 bequeathed to Mrs. Johnson by her rich cousin, old Mrs. Harriotts of Trysull, who had died in February 1727/8, her will being proved in the following month. The sum seems a small one to-day, but at that time it probably would equal in purchasing power several hundreds of pounds in modern money. Dr. Birkbeck Hill considered that fifty pounds would have much more than covered Johnson's college expenses for a whole year, so that this legacy would represent a very substantial contribution towards the cost of a University education.\* And if, as has been stated, help was expected from other sources, it might be quite sufficient to decide the minds of his parents, fully alive to the intellectual capacities of their son, in favour of carrying out what must always have been their own and his ambition, the more so after they had for two years seen him uncongenially employed in the shop in the Market Square of Lichfield, where a decaying business called for a young man whose interest in books was commercial rather than intellectual.†

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\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 179-81.

† *Ibid.*, III., 169.

We get evidence in Johnson's later life of the interest he took in the economics of University education, an interest natural to one who had had to study the subject in the school of bitter experience. When he visited St. Andrews University in 1773 he recorded that "a student of the highest class" could pay every expense of his annual seven months there for £15, and "one of lower rank for less than ten."\* And a little later the Rev. Mr. Riddoch, at Aberdeen, "disgusted Dr. Johnson," because "he could not tell distinctly how much education at the college here costs."† In 1764 he had written to William Strahan, the printer, about his son George, and advised an allowance of £100 a year to cover expenses at Oxford, but here he was prescribing for a rich man's son.‡

As to the possible help from other sources, to which I have just alluded, his first formal biographer, William Shaw, is sufficiently vague :—

We are not informed at whose expence he was sent to college. His godfather, Dr. Swynfen, was likely enough to be consulted on this occasion. And the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, prompted by his example and zeal, and sensible of the father's inability and the son's genius, probably agreed among themselves, on some mode of thus finishing an education, from which they predicted much public utility.§

These are mere speculations, which do not carry much weight. Shaw learned all he could from Dr. Swynfen's daughter, Mrs. Desmoulins, so it is evident that she knew nothing of her father even having been consulted, though we can hardly doubt that he would be. Now practising medicine in Birmingham, he had only recently succeeded to the heavily encumbered family estate, so that he is not likely to have given money help, especially as he had ten or a dozen children of his own.|| Johnson's other godfather, Richard Wakefield, a bachelor

\* *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 7.

† *Ibid.*, p. 220.

‡ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 113-15.

§ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, p. 16.

|| *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 54; *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 230. Dr. Swynfen, "for want of due attention to the management of his domestic concerns, left a very large family in indigence" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 83).



of considerable means, was much more in a position to assist him,\* though there is no reason to suppose that he did. As for the "gentlemen in the neighbourhood," I am profoundly sceptical of their having helped financially in the matter when they had been ready to see Johnson wasting two of the most precious years of his life in the utterly uncongenial work of bookselling.† If they had been willing to open their pockets, it would have been directly after his leaving school, when his faculties for acquiring knowledge were most highly developed, and habits of discipline had not been weakened by a less ordered life.

Boswell shrank—as many without his reputation for curiosity would not have done—from seeking information on the point from the fountain-head :—

That a man in Mr. Michael Johnson's circumstances should think of sending his son to the expensive University of Oxford, at his own charge, seems very improbable. The subject was too delicate to question Johnson upon. But I have been assured by Dr. Taylor that the scheme never would have taken place had not a gentleman of Shropshire, one of his schoolfellows, spontaneously undertaken to support him at Oxford, in the character of his companion ; though, in fact, he never received any assistance whatever from that gentleman.‡

Hawkins, some years before, had been more explicit, after speaking of Johnson's stay at home, when he had finished his schooling :—

This suspense continued about two years, at the end whereof, a neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Andrew Corbet, having a son, who had been educated in the same school with Johnson, whom he was about to send to Pembroke college in Oxford, a proposal was made and accepted, that Johnson should attend this son thither, in quality of assistant in his studies ; and accordingly, on the 31st day of October, 1728, they were both entered, Corbet as a gentleman-commoner, and Johnson as a commoner.§

There are many mistakes in Hawkins's tale, but, backed up as it is by Taylor's assurance to Boswell, we must believe that there was some truth in its central statement, that Corbet had a share of influence in deciding Johnson to go to Oxford. Andrew Corbet, however, was

\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 231.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 169.

‡ Birkbeck's *Hill's Boswell*, I., 58.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 9.



the name of the son, and he did not enter Pembroke with Johnson, who was the same age as himself, but some eighteen months earlier, matriculating on 3 May 1727, as son of Roger Corbet, of Battlefield, Salop.\* Roger Corbet had died in 1715, and his widow nearly nine months before Johnson entered Pembroke, by which time therefore Andrew Corbet was an orphan.†

Johnson's choice of a college may have been influenced by other considerations of which we have record. As far back as 1667 his mother's first cousin, Henry Jesson, had entered Pembroke, where he took his degree in 1671.‡ Then again, Richard Chambers, afterwards Prebendary of Hereford, nephew of Jane Chambers who married Johnson's uncle Samuel Ford, had taken his B.A. there in 1716, and his M.A. in 1719.§ And William Vyse, afterwards Archdeacon of Salop, whom I have identified with the kindly intentioned donor of the famous shoes,|| had entered Pembroke over twenty months before Johnson:¶ though not Lichfield-born, Vyse had local associations and was quite likely known to him at home. But much more significant is the fact that his godfather, Samuel Swynfen, a man of some little ability, was of Pembroke, where he had studied thirty years before Johnson.\*\* His mother's connexion with the Hickmans of Stourbridge may have made him acquainted with the fact that Henry Hickman, the controversialist, great-uncle to the Gregory Hickman of whom we shall hear later,†† had been for some years after 1650 Minister of St. Aldate's, the church so closely associated with Pembroke College.‡‡ It may be mentioned, too, that John Hall, Bishop of Bristol, and Master of Pembroke from 1664 to his death in 1710, was a Worcester-shire man, whose uncle Thomas Hall, nonconforming curate of Kings Norton, was probably known to Johnson's grandfather, Cornelius

\* Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

† See Appendix A., p. 120.

‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 135.

§ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, IV., 86.

|| See *post*, p. 21.

¶ See Appendix J., p. 210.

\*\* See Appendix J., p. 207.

†† See *post*, p. 65.

‡‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 109.

Ford, who treasured all his writings and willed them to his family.\* The prominent part played by the Wightwicks as founders and benefactors of Pembroke College, helped to maintain a close connexion with Staffordshire and Shropshire.

Besides Andrew Corbet, another of Johnson's schoolfellows had preceded him to Oxford—Charles Congreve, afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh, who had entered Magdalen Hall in March 1726, where he took his degree in 1729. There is evidence, however, that they never met at Oxford.† One Samuel Bird, of Stow, Lichfield, had gone up to Magdalen College in October 1727, just a year before Johnson entered Pembroke; he stayed to take his degree in 1731.‡ It should not be forgotten that Johnson's great-uncle, Henry Ford, the attorney, for some time before his death in 1691 was spending much of his time at Oxford, though his interest was in the Whorwood estates at Holton close by, and not in the University.§

Boswell tells us that Johnson was entered a commoner of Pembroke College on 31 October 1728,|| when he was "in his nineteenth year"¶—he was really in his twentieth year. 'The date is confirmed by the entry in the Caution Book:—

Oct. 31, 1728. Rec<sup>d</sup>. then of Mr. Samuel Johnson, Co<sup>m</sup>er of Pem. Coll. : y<sup>e</sup> sum of seven Pounds\*\* for his Caution, which is to remain in y<sup>e</sup> Hands of y<sup>e</sup> Bursars till y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Johnson shall depart y<sup>e</sup> said College leaving y<sup>e</sup> same fully discharg'd.

Recd. by me, John Ratcliff†† Bursar.‡‡

In the buttery books of the College, Samuel Johnson's name first

\**Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 134; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 37, 50.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 126-7.

‡ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. Samuel Smith, perhaps a distant connexion of Johnson's from Kidderminster, entered Pembroke in Dec. 1727, but had migrated to Merton before Johnson went up (see Appendix O., p. 263).

§ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 34; IV., 44-5.

|| The Rev. William Adams, when Master of Pembroke, supplied the date to Percy, then Dean of Carlisle, in a letter of 4 Feb. 1780 (*Catalogue of R. B. Adam's Johnsonian Collection*, privately printed, 1921).

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 58.

\*\* Mr. Maclean says this was the usual sum at all colleges in those days for a commoner (Douglas Maclean's "History of Pembroke College," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, vol. XXXIII., p. 331).

†† See Appendix J., p. 203.

‡‡ *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 331.

appears on 25 October 1728 (Friday), but there is no charge against him until 1 November (the following Friday), the day after his formal entry, when his weekly bill was the normal sum of 8<sup>s</sup>/- . Apparently, therefore, he had arrived in College at the end of the week beginning on 25 October, and been entered on the books under that date. Thenceforward his name appears regularly in the buttery books, the weekly charge against him being usually 8<sup>s</sup>/-.\*

Johnson arrived at Oxford accompanied by his father. William Adams, then a Fellow, and afterwards Master of Pembroke, was present on the evening of his arrival, when, he told Boswell, old Michael "found means to have him introduced to Mr. Jorden, who was to be his tutor."† William Jorden was Adams's first cousin, and both were of founder's kin.‡ Boswell's account of the scene was derived from Adams :—

His father seemed very full of the merits of his son, and told the company he was a good scholar, and a poet, and wrote Latin verses. His figure and manner appeared strange to them ; but he behaved modestly, and sat silent, till upon something which occurred in the course of conversation, he suddenly struck in and quoted Macrobius§ ; and thus he gave the first impression of that more extensive reading in which he had indulged himself. ||

We can well believe that modesty was not the only reason for the silence of a young man who had already been disgusted many times by his father's eagerness to impress people with his son's abilities, ¶ which it must have taken a very sudden accession of interest in the conversation to make him display, under the circumstances.

\* See Appendix H., pp. 158-9.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 59.

‡ See Appendix B., p. 124.

§ See *post*, p. 29.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 59.

¶ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 71-2.

## CHAPTER II.

## THIRTEEN MONTHS OF COLLEGE LIFE

*His first declamation—Prefers sliding on the ice to Jorden's lecture—An early winter—Matriculation delayed seven weeks—His room in College—Determined not to be "an Athenian Blockhead"—Associates with Phil Jones and Fludger—Translates Pope's "Messiah" as a College exercise—Pope himself impressed—His early effort afterwards printed in Husbands's "Miscellany"—Advises his schoolfellow John Taylor to enter Christ Church—Some account of Phil Jones—John Fludger and his career in the church—Fludger's literary efforts—Classical superiority of John Meeke not reflected in his later career—Johnson's impatience of authority—His bitterness mistaken for frolic—Impressed by William Adams's mild rebukes—Hunting the servitor—His real love for the unscholarly Jorden—Influenced by order and discipline of College life—In later years praises University discipline—Spurns a gift of shoes—The identity of the donor: probably William Vyse—Andrew Corbet leaves Johnson in the lurch—Oliver Edwards enters the College—Some account of the lawyer who "tried to be a philosopher"—Johnson's pious resolution against sloth—Fails to perform November exercise—Growing melancholy—Leaves Oxford after thirteen-and-a-half months' continuous residence in College—States his case to Dr. Swynfen, who divulges it to friends—Edmund Hector fears for his reason—His private library at College—Left in charge of Taylor, and then transferred to Spicer—A bulky parcel—The course of his reading at Oxford—A brief analysis of his library—No French or Italian books—Remarkable collection for an undergraduate.*

WINDHAM tells us the story of Johnson's first declamation at College,\* and Mrs. Piozzi elaborates it a little.† From the two versions we gather that he wrote only one copy‡—on the morning of its delivery§

\* *Diary of William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, p. 17.

† *Piozzi's Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, pp. 30-31.

‡ In *Pointer's Oxoniensis Academia* (1749), among the "Customs," is mentioned "custom for the Undergraduates of this College to make Verses on the 5th of November, and to have two Copies of them; one to present the Master, the other to stick up in the Hall, and there to remain till a Speech on this occasion is spoken before Supper (for their Gaudy is at Supper and not Dinner)" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 334).

§ Whitefield, a few years later at Pembroke (see *post*, p. 37), speaks of "Saturday being come, which is the day the students give up their compositions" in the Hall (*L. Tyerman's Life of Whitefield*, 1876, I., 22).



—and as that had to be handed in to the tutor on entering the hall, he had to repeat it as far as possible from memory, improvising where recollection failed. He would not admit this to be an heroic act, for “no man, I suppose, leaps at once into deep water, who does not know how to swim.” At Oxford, only six months before his death, he told Boswell “that when he came to College he wrote his first exercise twice over ; but never did so afterwards.”\* This presumably means that he *drafted* it twice, and does not necessarily conflict with the tale, though it were foolish to seek for absolute uniformity of narration in the case of such trivial incidents.

Boswell's next paragraph follows very closely the original note he made in his diary, from Johnson's relation, when they were at Oxford together in 1776. I quote the original note :—

When he came to Oxford he had for Tutor Mr. Jorden a fellow of Pembroke a very worthy man but a heavy man, & he did not profit much by his instruction. Indeed he did not attend him much. The first day after he came to college, he attended him and then staid away four. On the sixth Mr. Jorden asked him why he had not attended. Said Mr. Johnson I have been sliding upon the ice in Christ-Church meadow and this I said with all the *nonchalance* as I am now talking to you (Oxford 20 March 1776) I had no notion that I was wrong or irreverent to my Tutor. Why said I That was great fortitude of mind.  
——— No Sir stark insensibility.†

Dr. Birkbeck Hill, accepting this story as correct to its minutest detail, points out that the sliding incident must have occurred on 6 November *old style*, or 17 November *new style*, a very early date for ice to bear. In *The Weekly Journal* for 30 November 1728 he found that severe winter conditions then prevailed in London, but whether they obtained earlier in the month escaped his vigilance.‡

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 71 ; IV., 309.

† *Boswell's Note Book*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1925, p. 7.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 59-60. Many of our future men of distinction must have gone sliding on an even earlier date in Nov. 1925 (this for the benefit of their biographers). Mr. R. T. Gunther, of Magdalen College, Oxford, who has devoted much attention to meteorological history, tells me that a weather diary kept by George Smith, Esq., Queen's Proctor, at Richmond, Surrey, records that Nov. 1728 was “cold until the 13th and then very cold and frosty for the rest of the month. The 18th to the 30th was a period of very hard frost.” On the 24th there was “great snow all night,” which continued two or three days, and on the 30th he records “hard frost as ever known.” Mr. Smith's dates, of course, would be *old style*.



This story is rather differently related by Thomas Warton, who heard it from Johnson when they visited Pembroke together in 1754 :—

He much regretted that his *first* tutor was dead; for whom he seemed to retain the greatest regard. He said, "I once had been a whole morning sliding in Christ-Church Meadow, and missed his lecture in logick. After dinner, he sent for me to his room. I expected a sharp rebuke for my idleness, and went with a beating heart. When we were seated, he told me he had sent for me to drink a glass of wine with him, and to tell me, he was *not* angry with me for missing his lecture. This was, in fact, a most severe reprimand. Some more of the boys were then sent for, and we spent a very pleasant afternoon.\*

We may accept these two different versions of the story, not as mutually contradictory, but rather as supplementing one another.

For some unexplained reason "Johnson did not appear before the Vice-Chancellor to be matriculated for nearly seven weeks, a delay unusual and against the University statutes." The entry of his matriculation runs thus :—

1728, Dec. 16. Saml. Johnson, 19, Mich. fil. Lichfield Civ. Com. Stafford gen. fil.†

Boswell's notebook, following immediately on the "stark insensibility" story, continues thus :—

Dr. Adams told me that He was lodged in the room up two pair of stairs over the gate of Pembroke.‡ One day while he was sitting in his room Dr. Panting the then Master of the College§ overheard him making this Soliloquy with his strong voice. "Well I have a mind to see what is done in other places of learning. I'll go see the Universities abroad. I'll go to France & Italy. I'll go to Padua and I'll mind my business—For an Athenian Blockhead is the worst of all Blockheads."|| Dr. Adams some time Rector of St. Chads Shrewsbury and

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 272.

† *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 332. The statute "enacted that he should do this not later than the Friday seven-night after his admission, under a fine of 40s. for every week to be paid by the Scholar and 20s. by the Head." And see *post*, Appendix C., p. 130.

‡ "His apartment in Pembroke College was that upon the second floor, over the gateway. The enthusiasts of learning will ever contemplate it with veneration" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 72).

§ "'A fine Jacobite fellow' Dr. Johns 21 Sept. 1777" (Boswell's note).

|| "Bramston in his *Man of Taste* in Dodsley's Collection has the same thought "Sure of all Blockheads Scholars are the worst. It has probably been an imitation or rather a plagiarism or an adoption, for I know not if there can be *plagiarism* when there has not been a publication of what is borrowed yet I think it is properly plagiarism. It is only not so clearly detected" (Boswell's note). See this story in its finished but almost identical form (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 73). James Boswell, junior, pronounced

afterwards Master of Pembroke told me (Oxford 20 March 1776) I was his nominal Tutor\* some time. But he was above my mark.† That day he & Dr. Johnson & I walked in the Master's Garden, & went into the Common-room in it where said Dr. Johnson I used to play at draughts with Phil Jones and Fludyer. Jones loved beer & did not get much forward in the Church. Fludyer turned out a scoundrel, a Whig and said he was ashamed of having been bred at Oxford. He had a living at Putney and got under the eye of some retainers to the Court at that time; & so was a violent Whig. But he had been a scoundrel all along to be sure. I asked if he was a scoundrel in any other way than a political scoundrel. Did he cheat at draughts?—: We never played for money. Jones & he are now both dead (Oxford 20 March 1776).‡ Mr. Hector told me that the Master of Pembroke used to see him idling away his time in the quadrangle§ & that he set him a task to turn Pope's *Messiah* into Latin. Upon which Mr. Johnson produced his admirable version of that Poem. It was first published in a Miscellany at Oxford by one Husbands.||

This last paragraph was expanded considerably by Boswell when he came to write the *Life* :—

Having given such a specimen of his poetical powers,¶ he was asked by Mr. Jorden, to translate Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse, as a Christmas exercise. He performed it with uncommon rapidity, and in so masterly a manner, that he obtained great applause from it, which ever after kept him high in the estimation of his College, and, indeed, of all the University.

It is said, that Mr. Pope expressed himself concerning it in terms of strong approbation. Dr. Taylor told me, that it was first printed for old Mr. Johnson, without the knowledge of his son, who was very angry when he heard of it. A Miscellany of Poems collected by a person of the name of Husbands, was published at Oxford in 1731. In that Miscellany Johnson's Translation of the

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Johnson's meaning to be "that a scholar who is a blockhead must be the worst of all blockheads, because he is without excuse." But did he not rather mean that when learning is added to folly the folly is accentuated? "There is no fool like a clever fool." James Bramston (1694?-1744) published his poem *The Man of Taste* in 1733, after Johnson had left Oxford. He was a Christ Church man, but at this time a Sussex vicar. It does not seem probable that he had heard of Johnson's remark. It is much more likely that Panting, in telling the story, or Adams in repeating it, was unconsciously influenced by a memory of Bramston's line.

\* "This was after Mr. Jorden went away" (Boswell's marginal note).

† "This Dr. Johnson said (on my telling him it 23 Sept. 1777) was liberal & noble. Dr. Adams told me also the story of the Athenian Blockhead" (Boswell's marginal note). See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 79.

‡ This is altered scarcely at all in the finished version: see Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 444.

§ Boswell seems to have suppressed this in the *Life*.

|| *Boswell's Note Book*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1925, pp. 7-9.

¶ The verses he wrote on 5 Nov. (see *post*, p. 25), which I have concluded, however, on such slender evidence as we possess, were written on 5 Nov. 1729.

*Messiah* appeared, with this modest motto from Scaliger's *Poeticks*. *Ex alieno ingenio Poeta, ex suo tantum versificator.\**

His authority for Pope's approbation was evidently Hawkins, who earlier had written :—

His exercises were applauded, and his tutor was not so shallow a man, but that he could discover in Johnson great skill in the classics, and also a talent for Latin versification, by such compositions as few of his standing could equal. Mr. Jorden taking advantage, therefore, of a transgression of this his pupil, the absenting himself from early prayers, imposed on him for a vacation exercise, the task of translating into Latin verse the *Messiah* of Mr. Pope, which being shown to the author of the original, by a son of Dr. Arbuthnot, then a gentleman-commoner of Christ-Church, and brother of the late Mr. Arbuthnot of the Exchequer-office, was read, and returned with this encomium : " The writer of this poem will leave it a question for posterity, whether his or mine be the original." This translation found its way into a miscellany published by subscription at Oxford, in the year 1731, under the name of J. Husbands.†

Johnson was resident in College all through the Christmas vacation of 1728,‡ so that Jorden, who was also in residence as Vicegerent,§ would know how long the exercise had taken.|| Most of the undergraduates, it may be mentioned, went down just before or just after Christmas, including all the gentlemen-commoners, and of the commoners only three beside Johnson remained in residence, Creed, Carew and Estcourt.¶

Charles Arbuthnot, who showed the translation to Pope, had matriculated from Christ Church on 5 June 1724, aged 19. He took his B.A. in 1728, and his M.A. in 1731, entering the church and dying in Dublin on 1 December of the same year.\*\* His father, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), M.D., F.R.S., was something of a poet and wit, and acquainted with Pope.†† No doubt it was through John Taylor, who

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 61-2.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 13-14.

‡ See Appendix H., p. 158.

§ See *post*, Appendix B., p. 128.

|| As Johnson was leaving Pembroke College in the summer of 1754, in company with Thomas Warton, he remarked :—" Here I translated Pope's *Messiah* " (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 272).

¶ Evidence of buttery books ; see *post*, Appendix H., p. 154.

\*\* Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

†† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*



matriculated from Christ Church two or three months after the translation was made,\* that Arbuthnot came into the story.

George Steevens, in his *Anecdotes*, refutes Hawkins's statement that the poem was born of punishment :—

I have been told, Dr. Johnson, says a friend, that your translation of Pope's *Messiah* was made either as a common exercise, or as an imposition for some negligence you had been guilty of at College. "No, Sir," replied the Doctor. "At Pembroke the former were always in prose, and to the latter I would not have submitted. I wrote it rather to show the tutors what I could do, than what I was willing should be done. It answered my purpose; for it convinced those who were well enough inclined to punish me, that I could wield a scholar's weapon as often as I was menaced with arbitrary inflictions. Before the frequency of personal satire had weakened its effect, the petty Tyrants of Colleges stood in awe of a pointed remark, or a vindictive epigram."†

Boswell's "person of the name of Husbands" was a fellow-collegian of Johnson's—John Husbands, who had taken his B.A. in 1725, and his M.A. in 1728, becoming a Fellow in June 1728, before Johnson came up. He was in residence during some six months of Johnson's stay, so that they would be well acquainted.‡ His *Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* was published by himself at Oxford in 1731, and in the preface we read :—

The translation of Mr. Pope's *Messiah* was deliver'd to his Tutor as a College Exercise, by Mr. Johnson, a Commoner of Pembroke College in Oxford, and 'tis hoped will be no Discredit to the excellent Original.§

The list of subscribers includes close on 500 names, some of which are down for a large number of copies. Among them we find "*Richard Savage, Esq.*; 20 Copies," and, knowing the character of this friend of Johnson's early days in London, we wonder what the cash value of the list was. Of 122 Pembrochians on the College books during Johnson's stay there, some 57 subscribed to the *Miscellany*,|| and it is curious that Johnson, whose work was represented in the collection, is not in the list. Hearne tells us that it was "not much taken notice

\* See *post*, p. 23.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, II., 312-13.

‡ See *post*, Appendix J., p. 194.

§ W. P. Courtney's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 1.

|| See *post*, Appendix J., pp. 181-213.



of": and Husbands himself died in the following year with no other work to his credit.\*

On 22 August 1773, at Aberdeen, Johnson repeated some lines of Dryden's, "and a part of a Latin translation of it done at Oxford," five years later acknowledging himself to have been the translator.†

Johnson told Mrs. Thrale, "the history of my Oxford exploits lies all between Taylor and Adams."‡ Taylor, as we have seen, had been his schoolfellow at Lichfield Grammar School, where their life-long intimacy began.§ Eighteen months junior to Johnson, he was over four months later in coming up to Oxford. He "had obtained his father's consent to be entered of Pembroke, that he might be with his schoolfellow Johnson, with whom, though some years older than himself, he was very intimate." But Johnson, perhaps to provide Boswell with "a very strong instance of that rigid honesty which he ever inflexibly preserved," dissuaded his friend from coming to Pembroke, "where he knew he could not have an able tutor." Johnson "then made inquiry all round the University, and having found that Mr. Bateman, of Christ Church, was the tutor of highest reputation, Taylor was entered of that College,"|| matriculating on 10 March 1728/9, aged 17.¶ There was no delay in his case, for his name does not appear in the Christ Church buttery books until 14 March 1728/9, when apparently he had been in residence only three or four days.\*\*

It is rather curious that Edmund Bateman, who is thus drawn into the Johnsonian story, though a Londoner born and son to Sir Christopher Wren's assistant-surveyor at St. Paul's, a few years later became a Prebendary of Lichfield and Master of St. John's Hospital there, as well as Chancellor of the Cathedral and brother-in-law to William Vyse.§

\* See account of him, *post*, Appendix J., pp. 194-5.

† *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 213.

‡ Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, pp. 29-30, 32.

§ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 124.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 76.

¶ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

\*\* See *post*, p. 27.

§ Edmund, son of Thomas Bateman, "Receiver of the duty on Coals and Assistant Surveyor to Sir Christopher Wren at St. Paul's, and of Mary Symmons" ["Thomas Bateman, Esq., formerly Controller of the Works at St. Paul's," died 17 Dec. 1719—*Hist. Reg. Chron.*, 1719, p. 43], born in Scotland Yard, par. of St. Martin's in the Fields,

Boswell did not learn that Johnson "formed any close intimacies with his fellow-collegians."\* But we have already seen, from the actual words of Boswell's notebook, how he was pretty intimate with "Phil Jones and Fludyer."† Philip Jones, son of an Oxford resident, and of Johnson's own age, had matriculated nearly a year before him, on 5 December 1727; he took his B.A. in June 1731 and his M.A. on 20 March 1734/5. That he made some sort of a mark in College is evident from the numerous uncomplimentary references to him scribbled in the buttery books, and perhaps the one accusing him of "exceeding y<sup>e</sup> battails" may be taken as evidence to support Johnson's charge that he "loved beer." However, his actual record was one of exceptionally regular residence and regular charges; though

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9 Aug. 1704. Ed. at St. Martin's, Eton, and Westminster. Matric. as commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, 6 Apl. 1720, aged 16; B.A. 16 Oct. 1723; M.A. 10 June 1726. Ord. deacon at Christ Church by Bp. of Oxford 25 Sept. 1726, and priest there 24 Sept. 1727. Hearne on 4 Nov. 1731 records that Bateman, at the Cathedral on the preceding Sunday, had mentioned a College benefactor in his prayers, and so incurred a reprimand from the Sub-dean. Rawlinson says he was "a Tutor in Ch. Ch." On 3 Nov. 1731 appointed Chaplain to Dr. Wake, Archbp. of Canterbury, who presented him to rectory of St. Dunstan's in the East: instituted 22, inducted 23 Nov. 1731, and held it till death. Appointed Chaplain to Bp. Potter of Oxford, 14 Feb. 1732/3, when he had a dispensation to hold the rectory of Chevening, Kent, to which the Archbp. had presented him; instituted 21 Feb. 1732/3. Presented by Archbp. to sinecure rectory and vicarage of Hollingbourne, Kent: instituted 9 Feb. 1733/4. Accumulated and went out grand compounder B.D. and D.D. 21 Jany. 1736/7 at Oxford. Prebendary of Stotfold, in Lichfield Cathedral, 14 Nov. 1734, till resignation in Dec. 1741. Archdeacon of Lewes 22 Mch. 1736/7 (installed at Chichester 25 Mch.) till death. Chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral, 15 Dec. 1740 till death. Master of St. John's Hospital, Lichfield, from 23 June 1740, succeeding the well-known Edward Maynard, D.D., who died 13 Apl. 1740, as the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* tells us. Died 28 Apl. 1751; burd. in St. John's Chapel; succeeded as Master by Sneyd Davies, 2 July 1751. Published "A Hospital Sermon" preached before the Lord Mayor of London at St. Bridget's on 5 Apl. 1738, and "A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy" at St. Paul's on 17 Apl. 1740 (*Rawlinson MS. J. fol.* 2, ff. 140, 142, and 4<sup>to</sup> 5, f. 323; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXVII., 472; George Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1898, p. 136; Harwood's *Lichfield*, pp. 200, 560; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1751, p. 236). Will of Edmund Bateman, D.D., Rector of Chevening, Kent, dated 10 Oct. 1749, was proved 25 June 1751, in P.C.C. [Busby 166], by Mary the relict: he mentions his child Mary Bateman. His wife was third dau. of Richard Smalbroke [1672-1749], Bishop of Lichfield (Shaw's *Staffs.*, I., 279; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, I., 406), who gave him his Lichfield appointments (Shaw's *Staffs.*, I., 289). She died 1 May 1791 (inf. of W. B. Bickley). Through her he became brother-in-law to William Vyse (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 210).

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 74.

† See *ante*, p. 10.

he may still have been "an Ass and a foolish Long Gutts," as well as "an affected Fellow, Foppish Dog, *alias* Coxcomb" and "Vinegar." In 1736, at any rate, he must have had some moments of intense sobriety, when he borrowed from the College library certain theological works of a decidedly heavy kind. From Johnson we also learn that he "did not get very forward in the church," and was dead in 1776. This is correct: he died in August 1764, in the Worcestershire village of Overbury, where he had evidently been acting as a curate under the Vicar, Matthew Bloxam, a contemporary of his and Johnson's at Pembroke. In his little will, leaving all his effects to Bloxam, we at least see gratitude for his old friend's kindness.\*

John Fludger (for that was the barbarous way in which he spelt his name, not Fludyer) is a much more solid figure than Phil Jones. Born at Abingdon, of which town his father, a tanner, was Mayor in 1722, he was over two years junior to Johnson, but entered Pembroke College, after education at the well-known Abingdon free school, only a week later. Elected a fellow, on the foundation of Richard Wightwick, immediately after his matriculation, he took his B.A. in 1732 and his M.A. in 1735. After taking orders the following year, he had a succession of preferments—Lecturer of St. John's, Clerkenwell, 1737; Rector of Abingdon, 1739; Curate in Charge of Putney, 1747; Chaplain to George, 3rd Duke of St. Albans,† 1751; and Rector of St. Aldate's, Oxford, 1754. His will, presumably of 1773, tells us also that he was acting as Assistant Curate to Dr. Newcome, Dean of Rochester. Of more interest to us than this record of promotion is the fact that in 1739 he published a bulky theological work; and in 1755 a sermon on the Great Earthquake at Lisbon. For his Whiggism and his dealings with Court retainers, we have little evidence except the statement by Johnson, who must have kept in touch with his career to know that, like Phil Jones, he was dead in 1776. Married, but without children, he died at Putney, at the end of 1773, and was buried there.‡

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\* See *post*, Appendix C., pp. 129-35.

† Who was first cousin to Johnson's friend, Topham Beauclerk.

‡ See *post*, Appendix D., pp. 135-9.



When Johnson visited Oxford in 1754, he renewed acquaintance with another fellow-collegian, as recorded by Thomas Warton :—

We then called on the Reverend Mr. Meeke, one of the fellows, and of Johnson's standing. Here was a most cordial greeting on both sides. On leaving him, Johnson said, " I used to think Meeke had excellent parts, when we were boys together at the College : but, alas !

' Lost in a convent's solitary gloom ! '

I remember, at the classical lecture in the Hall, I could not bear Meeke's superiority, and I tried to sit as far from him as I could, that I might not hear him construe."\*

..... Besides Mr. Meeke, there was only one other Fellow of Pembroke now resident :† from both of whom Johnson received the greatest civilities during this visit, and they pressed him very much to have a room in the College.

I forgot to observe before, that when he left Mr. Meeke (as I have told above) he added, " About the same time of life, Meeke was left behind at Oxford to feed on a Fellowship, and I went to London to get my living : now, Sir, see the difference of our literary characters ! "‡

John Meeke was senior to Johnson in College, and to Phil Jones and Fludger, for he matriculated on 17 Dec. 1726, being apparently the same age as Johnson. Only son of Anthony Meeke, of London, who afterwards acquired the estate of Philberts, near Bray, in Berkshire, with its old timber house, once the residence of Nell Gwynn, his father had been one of the Sewers of the Queen's Chamber, while his mother's father, John Cooke, had been Latin Secretary to Charles II. John Meeke, with a taste for the classics in his blood, was elected a scholar of his College in 1726 ; he took his B.A. in 1730, being elected a fellow next year, and his M.A. in 1733. In Feb. 1735/6, he was acting as librarian. In June 1736 he was ordained deacon, in September 1736 priest, at Oxford. " Honest Jack Meek of Pemb. Coll. Sch.," as he is unofficially described in the buttery books, would be an acquisition to the church. He died at Philberts in September 1763, but was taken to St. Aldate's for burial. While he lay dead in his house, Horace Walpole, in search of a correspondent, was directed

\* See also Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 12.

† Mr. Powell has looked up the buttery books and found that this other fellow in residence was John Collins, for whom see *post*, Appendix J., p. 184.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 272-4.



there in error, and remarked on its neglected appearance, so that "honest Jack," though blessed with six maiden sisters, probably ran it as a bachelor establishment. Like Phil Jones and Fludger, he was in regular residence during Johnson's time at College, except for the summer vacation of 1729.\*

William Shaw, writing soon after Johnson's death, could tell us little of his Oxford days :—

His conduct, during no long residence in that illustrious seminary, is but little known, or at least has been marked by no celebrity. He is said to have treated some of the tutors with disrespect, their lectures with negligence, and the rules of the college with rudeness and contumely. But this story, besides being supported by no authority, does not suit the tenor of the Doctor's behaviour . . . . . In such a situation Johnson could not be idle. It was here he contemplated the wisdom of antiquity, and stored his capacious memory with whatever is valuable on record.†

Dr. Adams told Boswell

that Johnson, while he was at Pembroke College, "was caressed and loved by all about him, was a gay and frolicsome fellow, and passed there the happiest part of his life." But this is a striking proof of the fallacy of appearances, and how little any of us know of the real internal state even of those whom we see most frequently ; for the truth is, that he was then depressed by poverty, and irritated by disease. When I mentioned to him this account as given me by Dr. Adams, he said, "Ah, Sir, I was mad and violent. It was bitterness which they mistook for frolick. I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit ; so I disregarded all power and all authority."‡

A letter from Bishop Percy, dated 5 March 1787, gave Boswell more particulars as to Johnson's life at College :—

The pleasure he took in vexing the tutors and fellows has been often mentioned. But I have heard him say, what ought to be recorded to the honour of the present venerable Master of that College, the Reverend William Adams, D.D., who was then very young, and one of the junior fellows ; that the mild but judicious expostulations of this worthy man, whose virtue awed him, and whose learning he revered, made him really ashamed of himself, "though I fear (said he) I was too proud to own it."

I have heard from some of his cotemporaries that he was generally seen lounging at the College gate, with a circle of young students round him, whom he was entertaining with wit, and keeping from their studies, if not spiriting

\* See *post*, Appendix E., p. 139-42.

† *Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 17-18.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 73-4.

them up to rebellion against the College discipline, which in his maturer years he so much extolled.\*

Hawkins corroborates these accounts of his dislike for authority :—

It was the practice in his time, for a servitor, by order of the master, to go round to the rooms of the young men, and knocking at the door, to enquire if they were within, and, if no answer was returned, to report them absent :† Johnson could not endure this intrusion, and would frequently be silent, when the utterance of a word would have insured him from censure ; and, farther to be revenged for being disturbed when he was as profitably employed as perhaps he could be, would join with others of the young men in the college in hunting, as they called it, the servitor, who was thus diligent in his duty ; and this they did with the noise of pots and candlesticks, singing to the tune of Chevy-chace, the words in that old ballad,

“ To drive the deer with hound and horn,” &c.

not seldom to the endangering the life and limbs of the unfortunate victim.

These, and other such levities, marked his behaviour for a short time after his coming to college ; but he soon convinced those about him, that he came thither for other purposes than to make sport either for himself or them.‡

Of his tutor, the unfortunate Jorden, we also learn more from Hawkins :—

The college tutor, at that time, was a man named Jordan, whom Johnson, though he loved him for the goodness of his nature, so contemned for the meanness of his abilities, that he would oftener risque the payment of a small fine than attend his lectures ; nor was he studious to conceal the reason of his absence. Upon occasion of one such imposition, he said to Jordan, “ Sir, you have scolded me two-pence for non-attendance at a lecture not worth a penny.”§

But such a story does not represent Johnson’s deeper feelings towards his some-time tutor, as we learn from Boswell :—

He had a love and respect for Jorden, not for his literature, but for his worth. “ Whenever (said he) a young man becomes Jorden’s pupil, he becomes his son.”||

And to Mrs. Thrale he spoke of him with great affection :—

Mr. Jordan, his tutor, had much of his affection, though he despised his want of scholastic learning. “ That creature would (said he) defend his pupils to the

\* Birkbeck Hill’s *Boswell*, I., 74 ; Nichols’s *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 307.

† Whitefield, a few years later in College (see *post*, p. 37), speaks of “ it being my duty, as servitor, in my turn to knock at the gentlemen’s rooms by ten at night, to see who were in their rooms ” (L. Tyerman’s *Life of Whitefield*, 1876, I., 20).

‡ Hawkins’s *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 12-13.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

|| Birkbeck Hill’s *Boswell*, I., 61.

last : no young lad under his care would suffer for committing slight improprieties, while he had breath to defend, or power to protect them. If I had had sons to send to college (added he), Jordan should have been their tutor."\*

If Johnson appears sometimes to have treated the authorities with a scant respect for which no sufficient excuse can be offered, the University at least disciplined him in one direction : it cured him of a youthful disposition to indulge in lax talk against religion, which was not permitted there.† Hawkins thinks that it had moulded him to a much greater extent than is generally supposed :—

The advantages he derived from an university education, small as they may hitherto seem, went a great way towards fixing, as well his moral as his literary character : the order and discipline of a college life, the reading the best authors, the attendance on public exercises, the early calls to prayer, the frequent instructions from the pulpit, with all the other means of religious and moral improvement, had their proper effect ; and though they left his natural temper much as they found it, they begat in his mind those sentiments of piety which were the rule of his conduct throughout his future life, and made so conspicuous a part of his character.‡

Forty years after entering Pembroke, while Chambers's guest at Oxford, he could certainly support the system against which, in the pride and bitterness of his youth, he had often rebelled :—

Johnson expatiated on the advantages of Oxford for learning. " There is here, Sir (said he), such a progressive emulation. The students are anxious to appear well to their tutors ; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the college ; the colleges are anxious to have their students appear well in the University ; and there are excellent rules of discipline in every college. That the rules are sometimes ill observed, may be true ; but is nothing against the system. The members of an University, may, for a season, be unmindful of their duty. I am arguing for the excellency of the institution."§

Boswell warns us in a footnote against taking Johnson's account of his slackness at College too literally :—

It ought to be remembered that Dr. Johnson was apt, in his literary as well as moral exercises, to overcharge his defects. Dr. Adams informed me, that he

\* Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1786, p. 38. Johnson's last observation can hardly have been quite in the form quoted, as he was under 30 when Jordan died (see *post*, Appendix B., p. 126).

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 119.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 18.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 52.

attended his tutor's lectures, and also the lectures in the College Hall, very regularly.\*

It would not appear that Johnson indulged in his long walks at Oxford, for he told Boswell on 9 October 1773, at Col, that he had "never seen" Blenheim,† which is only some eight miles distant. Moreover, it is on the coach road from Birmingham, so that he might be expected to have passed it on his journey to Oxford. But possibly he meant he had never "seen over" the great mansion.

We have seen that Johnson's friend and schoolfellow, John Taylor, did not matriculate from Christ Church until 10 March 1728/9.‡ To a later date than this, therefore, must be ascribed the celebrated incident of his "spirited refusal of an eleemosynary supply of shoes," as related by Boswell :—

Mr. Bateman's lectures§ were so excellent, that Johnson used to come and get them at second-hand from Taylor, till his poverty being so extreme that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them, he saw that this humiliating circumstance was perceived by the Christ Church men, and he came no more. He was too proud to accept of money, and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation. How must we feel when we read such an anecdote of Samuel Johnson ||

Hawkins, who relates the story of the shoes at greater length, and was probably Boswell's only authority for it, includes it among the consequences of Corbet's withdrawal from College, of which we shall hear more presently¶ :—

The want of that assistance, which scholars in general derive from their parents, relations, and friends, soon became visible in the garb and appearance of Johnson, which, though in some degree concealed by a scholar's gown, and that we know is never deemed the less honourable for being old, was so apparent as to excite pity in some that saw and noticed him. Shall I be particular, and relate a circumstance of his distress, that cannot be imputed to him as an effect of his own extravagance or irregularity, and consequently reflects no disgrace on his memory? He had scarce any change of raiment, and, in a short time after

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 60.

† *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 364.

‡ See *ante*, p. 13.

§ See *ante*, p. 13.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 76-7.

¶ See *post*, p. 22.



Corbet left him, but one pair of shoes, and those so old, that his feet were seen through them : a gentleman of his college, the father of an eminent clergyman now living, directed a servitor one morning to place a new pair at the door of Johnson's chamber, who, seeing them upon his first going out, so far forgot himself and the spirit that must have actuated his unknown benefactor, that, with all the indignation of an insulted man, he threw them away.\*

Hawkins offers an excuse for his conduct in the fact that " he may be supposed to have been under the age of twenty, when this imaginary indignity was offered him." We can honour the kindly thought which prompted the gift equally with the sturdy independence that refused to accept it ; but we can as easily question the good taste of the one act as condemn the ingratitude of the other. According to Hawkins, Johnson was as sensitive about the poverty of his fellow-undergraduates as of his own :—

He could not, at this early period of his life, divest himself of an opinion, that poverty was disgraceful ; and was very severe in his censures of that æconomy in both our universities, which exacted at meals the attendance of poor scholars, under the several denominations of servitors in the one, and sizers in the other : he thought that the scholar's, like the christian life, levelled all distinctions of rank and worldly pre-eminence ; . . . . .†

No one has previously attempted to pierce the veil of anonymity that conceals the identity of the " gentleman of his college, the father of an eminent clergyman now living." But a few years ago, enquiries in another direction led me to what I thought was a solution of the problem‡ ; and now, with a much fuller knowledge of Johnson's fellow-collegians, I have no reason to question my then conclusion—that the donor of the shoes was William Vyse [1709-70], afterwards Archdeacon of Salop and Rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham, who, though Johnson's own age, had matriculated from Pembroke on 11 February 1726/7.§ As a Staffordshire man, and a friend of William Jorden's, he was

\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 10-11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 18.

‡ See letter from me in *Times Literary Supplement* for 10 Feb., 1921, p. 92.

§ A study of the list of Johnson's contemporaries at College, in Appendix J. (pp. 180-213), will show that there was only one other " gentleman of his college " who might be claimed as fitting Hawkins's description. This was William Goodenough, whose son Samuel Goodenough became Bishop of Carlisle. But William Goodenough was a graduate at the time, and when Hawkins wrote Samuel Goodenough was running a private school at Ealing and scarcely " an eminent clergyman " (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 190).

probably known to Johnson, and may have been his schoolfellow ; and when Hawkins wrote, his son, another William Vyse [1742-1816], was " an eminent clergyman now living "—D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Rector of Lambeth and Canon of Lichfield. Johnson certainly knew the elder Vyse in manhood : with the younger Vyse he was on terms of intimacy, as were other members of his literary circle, and Hawkins may well have sought the Lambeth cleric's memories of Johnson, as did Boswell and Malone a little later. If, as I have surmised, Hawkins got his information of the elder Vyse's presentation of Jorden to the living of Standon in 1729 direct from the younger Vyse, the likelihood of this last suggestion is much increased.\* And we know now from the buttery books that, though the elder Vyse entered Pembroke as a commoner, he was elevated to the status of " gentleman " commoner before the incident of the shoes can have taken place.†

The buttery books show Andrew Corbet, after at least five weeks of regular residence, to have left Pembroke finally at the beginning of November 1728, the very week of Johnson's entry.‡ Boswell, in explaining Johnson's failure to complete his University course, says that " the friend to whom he had trusted for support had deceived him."§ Hawkins is more precise. After telling us of Jorden's incompetence as a tutor, he continues :—

Whether it was this discouragement in the outset of their studies, or any other ground of disinclination that moved him to it, is not known, but this is certain, that young Corbet could not brook submission to a man who seemed to be little more learned than himself, and that having a father living, who was able to dispose of him in various other ways, he, after about two years stay, left the college, and went home.

But the case of Johnson was far different : his fortunes were at sea ; his title to a stipend was gone, and all that he could obtain from the father of Mr. Corbet, was an agreement, during his continuance at college, to pay for his commons.||

\* See *post*, Appendix B., p. 129.

† See *post*, Appendix J., p. 210. Among the characters in an Oxford comedy of 1704 is a Brasenose servitor whose fortune included " the reversion of old shoes which Gentleman-commoners leave off " (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 295).

‡ See Appendix A., p. 122.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 77-8 ; and *post*, p. 32.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 9-10

There are, of course, some obvious errors in this account. He had not "a father living," as we have seen.\* But this is not a very vital error; the father is only introduced as able to supply means, and if the means were there without the father, it does not affect the case much. Then, we are told that Corbet left "after about two years' stay." As a matter of fact he left at the very date assigned by Hawkins for his entry into College, but some eighteen months after he really did enter. So we can hold two opinions as to the extent of this error. Although he left in this fashion he evidently did not quite lose touch with the University, for he subscribed for two copies of *Husbands's Miscellany* in 1731.†

If Johnson had really placed financial dependence upon Corbet, his position must have been even more trying than the biographers suggest, when their College careers overlapped, if at all, for not more than a week.‡ But money came from somewhere and we have already carried Johnson's career to a period after 10 March 1728/9, when his friend Taylor matriculated from Christ Church.§ Three-and-a-half months later we come to another date that we can definitely connect with Johnson's college record—25 June 1729, when there matriculated from Pembroke that delightful personage, Oliver Edwards, to be remembered so long as our literature endures as the man who "tried to be a philosopher," but, he did not know how, "*cheerfulness was always breaking in.*"|| Fate plays strange pranks with reputations. Men of brilliant attainments live and labour and die and leave nothing by which they can be remembered, while others lacking the most ordinary gifts find a secure if modest niche in literature. Little can this decent retiring old lawyer have thought that his naïve remark would, a century-and-a-half after it was made, be part of the stock-in-trade of every well-equipped journalist.

A brief account of Oliver Edwards will not be out of place here. Son of Francis Edwards, a substantial resident of Devizes, in Wiltshire, where the family had been settled for several generations, he was born

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\* See *ante*, p. 4; and *post*, Appendix A., p. 120.

† See *post*, Appendix A., p. 122.

‡ Croker asserts that Corbet was at the University "twelve or thirteen months after Johnson" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 12).

§ See *ante*, p. 13.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 305.



in that country town early in 1711, being about eighteen months younger than Johnson. Though formally entered at Pembroke in June 1729, he did not come into residence until October, so that Johnson's personal association with him there cannot have exceeded ten weeks. Leaving after some seven months' residence, in April 1730, of course without a degree, he adopted the law as a profession and was for his middle-life, at least, connected with the Six Clerks Office in Chancery Lane. Twice married, but with no children, his second wife, of 1771, was the widow of John Nodes, Lord of the Manor of Shephalbury, in Hertfordshire, and it was on a property that she brought him, "just by Stevenage," that he was making his country home when Johnson re-made his acquaintance in 1778. At this time he had chambers in Barnard's Inn, and his name appears in the law list, with various addresses, until 1790, but in the first few weeks of 1791 he died, just too soon to read Boswell's life of his old College friend. As I have pointed out, the facts which Boswell gives us of Oliver Edwards, now checked by independent evidence, provide an extraordinary proof of his accuracy even in minor details.\*

Dr. Birkbeck Hill tells us "the college books show that Johnson was absent but one week in the Long Vacation of 1729"—the week ending 24 October—and is inclined to associate this with the attack of hypochondria that drove him back to Lichfield.† But Dr. Hill was misled by a transcript, and Johnson was really in residence continuously all through the Long Vacation, as were a few of the other undergraduates. The only commoners who remained up with Johnson, as the buttery books shew, were Carew, Hunt and Salwey.‡

Among a number of loose leaves, constituting a kind of informal diary, Boswell found the following spirited resolution by Johnson to contend against his natural indolence :—

"Oct. 1729. *Desidia valedixi; syrenis istius cantibus surdam posthac aurem obversurus.* — I bid farewell to Sloth, being resolved henceforth not to listen to her syren strains.§

\* See *post*, Appendix F., pp. 143-50.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 63, 78; his *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, pp. 337, 344.

‡ See *post*, Appendix J., pp. 183, 194, 204.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 74.



If the following incident belongs to 1729—and it would appear to do so, for we have already had the story of Johnson's declamation on 5 November 1728\*—it seems likely that the "syren strains" continued to influence him :—

The fifth of November was at that time kept with great solemnity at Pembroke College, and exercises upon the subject of the day were required.† Johnson neglected to perform his, which is much to be regretted; for his vivacity of imagination, and force of language, would probably have produced something sublime upon the gunpowder plot. To apologise for his neglect, he gave in a short copy of verses, entitled *Somnium*, containing a common thought; "that the Muse had come to him in his sleep, and whispered, that it did not become him to write on such subjects as politics; he should confine himself to humbler themes": but the versification was truly Virgilian.‡

The disinclination for effort, that called for his pious resolve to be more energetic, was probably only a symptom of the depression that grew upon him as the year advanced. In Boswell's own words :—

The "morbid melancholy," which was lurking in his constitution, and to which we may ascribe those particularities, and that aversion to regular life, which, at a very early period, marked his character, gathered such strength in his twentieth year, as to afflict him in a dreadful manner. While he was at Lichfield, in the college vacation of the year 1729, he felt himself overwhelmed with an horrible hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience; and with a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery. From this dismal malady he never afterwards was perfectly relieved; and all his labours, and all his enjoyments, were but temporary interruptions of its baleful influence.§

Dr. Birkbeck Hill, as already remarked, was misled into thinking that Johnson was absent from College for a week in October, and concluded that that week was the occasion "in the college vacation of 1729," when depression had driven him back home to Lichfield. But as this cannot have been so, the attack of hypochondria of which Boswell speaks must belong to the Christmas vacation following. We have ample evidence to favour this supposition. In one of Johnson's diaries, Hawkins found the entry, "1729 Dec. S.J. Oxonio rediit,"||

\* See *ante*, p. 7.

† See *ante*, p. 7, footnote.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 60.

§ *Ibid.*, I., 63-4.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 16; and *post*, p. 32.

showing that he really did leave Oxford then ; and in the buttery books of Pembroke College the regular charges against his name, which had been continuous and unbroken since his entry, cease after 12 December 1729.\*

It is curious that this tendency to melancholia, which remained with him through life, did not become acute until he went up to Oxford. When he told his friend Hector, about 1778, "my health has been, from my twentieth year, such as has seldom afforded me a single day of ease,"† there can be little doubt that he was reckoning from this period of depression which culminated in his leaving Oxford in 1729. Boswell's account of how Johnson first attempted to fight against this mental disturbance must refer to the time he spent at home after leaving Oxford :—

Johnson, upon the first violent attack of this disorder, strove to overcome it by forcible exertions. He frequently walked to Birmingham and back again, and tried many other expedients, but all in vain. His expression concerning it to me was "I did not then know how to manage it." His distress became so intolerable, that he applied to Dr. Swinfen, physician in Lichfield, his godfather, and put into his hands a state of his case, written in Latin. Dr. Swinfen was so much struck with the extraordinary acuteness, research, and eloquence of this paper, that in his zeal for his godson he shewed it to several people. His daughter, Mrs. Desmoulins, who was many years humanely supported in Dr. Johnson's house in London, told me, that upon his discovering that Dr. Swinfen had communicated his case, he was so much offended, that he was never afterwards fully reconciled to him.‡

As Boswell remarks, "he indeed had good reason to be offended," for zeal can rarely have taken so wrong a direction. At this time Dr. Swynfen was not a "physician in Lichfield." He had settled in Birmingham in 1727,§ and Johnson's walks there—a matter of sixteen miles each way—may have been partly to consult him. Andrew Johnson, an even more unsuccessful bookseller than his brother Michael, had died in Birmingham in June 1729,|| while his nephew Samuel was in residence at Pembroke. Another uncle, the objectionable John

\* See *post*, Appendix H., p. 160.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 147.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 64.

§ See *post*, Appendix J., p. 208.

|| *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 221.

Harrison, seems to have been still alive in Birmingham ;\* and there were probably cousins if he wished to see them.

The following reference to Johnson by his friend Hector evidently refers to his mental condition after leaving Oxford :—

After a long absence from Lichfield, when he returned I was apprehensive of something wrong in his constitution, which might either impair his intellect or endanger his life, but, thanks to Almighty God, my fears have proved false.†

This was evidently written after Johnson's death, in a page or two of reminiscences, and quite supports his claim to have been very near complete mental collapse.

"The particular course of his reading while at Oxford," says Boswell, "and during the time of vacation which he passed at home, cannot be traced."‡ But an interesting discovery in recent years, among the Congreve papers, has given us something substantial to go upon. From a letter of Johnson's, written on 18 May 1735, to his old schoolfellow, Gilbert Repington, then at Christ Church, it appears that he had left a box full of books at Oxford, with his friend Taylor, "from whom," he remarks with a little bitterness, "I had some reason to expect a regard to my affairs." The books, he understood, were then in the care of Mr. Spicer of Christ Church ; and he asked Repington kindly to collect them and forward them to Birmingham.§

We must presume that these books were his own personal library while at Oxford, and that when he left he put them in the charge of Taylor, at Christ Church, evidently a more intimate friend than any of his fellow-collegians at Pembroke. Taylor left Christ Church in September 1730,|| without taking a degree. He was the schoolfellow,

\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 195.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 8.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 70.

§ See *post*, p. 114.

|| Mr. L. F. Powell has kindly examined the buttery books at Christ Church. Taylor's name first appears in the week beginning 14 Mch. 1728/9, when 4<sup>s</sup>/3 is charged against him. After that his name occurs continuously, with charges against it very similar in amount to Johnson's own charges at Pembroke (see *post*, Appendix H., pp. 158-9), until 11 Sept. 1730, when the amount is 3<sup>s</sup>/10. After that his name is entered with no charge against it until the week beginning 21 July 1732 (after which it is removed), except for what appears to be 8<sup>s</sup>/8 against him for the week beginning 5 Mch. 1730/1. That this particular Taylor is our man is proved by the position of his name in the list, which follows the order of seniority. It is, therefore, quite clear that Taylor went down in Sept. 1730.



“ then at Christ Church, and intended for the bar,” to whom Johnson, while at Pembroke, confessed “ an inclination to the practice of the civil or the common law.”\* Thomas Taylor, his father, a flourishing attorney at Ashburne, died in November 1731, and it is supposed that the son himself practised as an attorney for some years before entering the church,† so probably he left to join his father.

John Spicer, into whose hands Johnson’s books came after Taylor’s departure, was over two months Taylor’s junior at Christ Church, having matriculated on 20 May 1729, aged 15, as son of John Spicer, of co. Middlesex, gent. He took his B.A. on 12 March 1732/3, and his M.A. in 1735.‡ when, we gather from Johnson’s letter, he was still in residence.

Most fortunately, Johnson had “ written a Catalogue on the other side ” of his letter of 18 May 1735, so that we have a complete list of his books, which I give elsewhere with full identifications and notes about each.§ Against every item in the list is a pencilled cross, and if this was put by Repington when he packed up the books, or by Spicer when he “ handed over,” it is a striking testimony to the care with which they had been preserved.

The list contains no book which Johnson might not have brought up to the University with him in 1728. It seems rather a formidable library for a young student to hale about with him—the weight alone of some 115 volumes, even if some were pocket editions, would be a serious matter and involve considerable charges for carriage. They help to rebut the idea of his very narrow circumstances, even though, as a bookseller’s son, he might have acquired them on “ advantageous terms ” ; especially as some were expensive works of recent publication, such as Pope’s *Homer*, the eleven volumes of which, in the quarto editions, had cost subscribers eleven guineas.||

One feature of the list which at first sight seems curious is how little it overlaps with the catalogue of his books as advertised for sale after his death ; but this can be explained by the fact that the volumes

\* Hawkins’s *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 14.

† Thomas Taylor’s *Life of Dr. John Taylor of Ashburne*, pp. 8, 15 ; and see *post*, p. 81.

‡ Foster’s *Alumni Oxonienses*.

§ See *post*, Appendix K., p. 213.

|| See *post*, Appendix K., p. 226.



named in that catalogue are but a small proportion of the whole collection. It is puzzling to think how he can have been willing to be without such aids to his studies for, probably, over five years. He evidently must have possessed other books. Where was the *Macrobius* he had read with such good effect as to startle the dons at Pembroke when his father brought him there? \* He died in possession of *Macrobius's* works, in an old edition, † which may have been the very source of his youthful display of erudition.

Law's *Serious Call to a Holy Life*, which Johnson took up when at Oxford, expecting to find it a dull book, is not in the list, so perhaps he was content with a borrowed copy. Though 1729 appears on the title page, it is said to have been issued at the "end of 1728." ‡ He found it "quite an overmatch" for him, so much so that "from this time forward religion was the predominant object of his thoughts." § He told Boswell that "what he read *solidly* at Oxford was Greek; not the Grecian historians, but Homer and Euripides, and now and then a little Epigram." || Yet there is no *Euripides* in his list, while he owned two copies at his death. ¶

Hawkins has some interesting remarks on Johnson's course of study at Oxford:—

In this course of learning, his favourite objects were classical literature, ethics, and theology, in the latter whereof he laid the foundation by studying the Fathers. If we may judge from the magnitude of his *Adversaria*, which I have now by me, his plan for study was a very extensive one. The heads of science, to the extent of six folio volumes, are copiously branched throughout it; but, as is generally the case with young students, the blank far exceed in number the written leaves.

To say the truth, the course of his studies was far from regular: he read by fits and starts, and, in the intervals, digested his reading by meditation, to which he was ever prone. Neither did he regard the hours of study, farther than the discipline of the college compelled him. \*\*

\* See *ante*, p. 6.

† Item 191 in list, "Macrobii opera—Col. 1521."

‡ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 68-9.

|| *Ibid.*, I., 70.

¶ Included in item 11:—"Euripides tragœdiæ a W. Piers. Euripides, a J. King." *Euripidis tragœdiæ Medea et Phænissæ, Græco-Latinæ, cum scholiis Græcis integris* . . . . . *Accessit ejusdem vita* . . . . . *studio et opera W. Piers.* was published at Cambridge in 1703 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*). John King [1696-1728], classicist, published his *Euripidis Hecuba, Orestes et Phænissæ*, at Cambridge, in 1726 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

\*\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 12.

A little later Hawkins tells us that "he had but little relish for mathematical learning, and was content with such a knowledge in physics, as he could not but acquire in the ordinary exercises of the place: his fortunes and circumstances had determined him to no particular course of study, and were such as seemed to exclude him from every one of the learned professions."\* A book which he read while at College because he found it by chance on his stairs was Jonathan Richardson's *Essay on Painting*.† An old gentleman in the University advised him, he told Boswell in 1763, to read diligently then, for when he grew older he would find it an irksome task poring over books.‡

Certainly the list of his books confirms Hawkins, as indicating little interest in mathematics or the physical sciences. But then it does not seem either to reflect his wide reading in Greek; while though he had a good collection of Latin poets, Plautus, Terence, Martial, Juvenal and Statius are missing, as Mr. Whibley points out, and the Latin prose writers are not so well represented. Mr. Powell is struck by the fact that some third of the books are connected with English literature, which did not enter into his College curriculum; and that no French or Italian works occur, though Johnson was translating the former language in 1733,§ and the latter in 1738.|| As the books evidently represent his own tastes rather than the mere needs of academic study, it would therefore look as if he had not mastered French and Italian when he went up to Oxford; and as there were no facilities there for such frivolous acquirements it is quite possible that his knowledge of those languages was gained after he had left the University. The absence of *Shakespeare* is curious.

But, taken as a whole, it is a very remarkable collection for an undergraduate to have possessed, especially one in his first year. There must have been very few of his day, even among the sons of well-to-do parents, who could have matched it, and large numbers probably relied almost entirely on their College libraries.

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\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 14.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 128. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* was printed at London, by W. Bowyer, for John Churchill, 1715.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 446.

§ Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, see *post*, p. 96.

|| Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*; see Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 135.

## CHAPTER III.

THE LENGTH OF HIS RESIDENCE AT OXFORD :  
THE BIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

*A difficult problem : Did he leave College in 1729 or 1731 ?—His first biographer's vagueness—Hawkins's definite statement of three years' residence, and its later qualification—Boswell follows Hawkins—Dr. Adams evidently uncommunicative on this point—The full three years' claim disproved by Johnson's letter to Hickman—Adams's "nominal tutorship"—Hawkins's and Boswell's stories examined—Croker and Birkbeck Hill argue the point—Light from Boswell's original notebook—College scholarships to which Johnson was eligible—Last saw Oliver Edwards at College in 1729—Apparently had no College friends who entered after 1729—The perplexing case of Whitefield : Did Boswell misunderstand Johnson ?—Walter Chapman, a fellow-collegian, and his reputed life-long friendship with Johnson—The cases of Thomas Patten and William Worthington—"Parson" Ford's sisters as lodgers in the Lichfield home on Johnson's return from Oxford : Hawkins's puzzling statement—No bitter recollections of his time at College, even in 1735—In later life delighted to recall undergraduate experiences—Melancholia rather than poverty the probable cause of his going home in December 1729—Reticence of early friends as to his College career.*

WE now come to one of the greatest problems that confronts the biographers of Johnson. What was the true history of his Oxford career ? We know that he resided in College continuously for over thirteen months, until December 1729. Did that mark practically the end of his University career, as modern research has indicated, or did it extend well into 1731, as Hawkins and Boswell assure us ? We will consider the evidence of the biographers first, in this chapter, and, in the next, deal with the whole question in the light of research among the College records.

His first formal biographer was evidently unable to get precise information, and only tells us that "he studied several terms, and might have continued longer, nor left the university, as he certainly did, without any degree, but that he could not afford, either to continue, or to pay for those honours, to which his proficiency as a scholar



must have otherwise entitled him.”\* Later he says “it is supposed that he remained between two and three years at college.”†

Hawkins, the next in turn, is much more definite, and might carry conviction were there no other evidence before us :—

The time of his continuance at Oxford is divisible into two periods, the former whereof commenced on the 31st day of October, 1728, and determined in December, 1729, when, as appears by a note in his diary in these words, “1729 Dec. S. J. Oxonio rediit,” he left that place, the reason whereof, was a failure of pecuniary supplies from his father ; but meeting with another source, the bounty, as it is supposed, of some one or more of the members of the cathedral, he returned, and made up the whole of his residence in the university, about three years, during all which time his academical studies, though not orderly, were to an astonishing degree intense.‡

A later paragraph, however, makes us doubt if Hawkins were really quite so confident on the main points at issue :—

It is little less than certain, that his own indigence, and the inability of his father to help him, called Johnson from the university sooner than he meant to quit it : his father, either during his continuance there, or possibly before, had been by misfortunes rendered insolvent, if not, as Johnson told me, an actual bankrupt.§

Boswell, writing after Hawkins, and with much greater opportunities of having learned the truth, evidently knew little, if any, more :—

The *res augusta domi* prevented him from having the advantage of a complete academical education. The friend to whom he had trusted for support had deceived him.|| His debts in College, though not great, were increasing ; and his scanty remittances from Lichfield, which had all along been made with great difficulty, could be supplied no longer, his father having fallen into a state of insolvency. Compelled, therefore, by irresistible necessity, he left the College in autumn, 1731, without a degree, having been a member of it little more than three years.¶

In spite of Boswell having met Dr. Adams, and stayed in his house when he was Master of Pembroke, both in 1776 and 1784, on the former of which occasions Dr. Adams “obligingly gave me part of

\* *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 16-17.

† *Ibid.*, p. 19.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 15-16.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

|| Andrew Corbet ; see *ante*, p. 22.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 77-8.



that authentick information [of Johnson's "academical life"], which, with what I afterwards owed to his kindness, will be found incorporated in its proper place in this work," it is quite clear that his knowledge of Johnson's Oxford career is vague in the extreme, notwithstanding his having found Adams "a most polite, pleasing, communicative man."\*

Indeed we may doubt if Boswell is really an independent witness in the matter: or whether he did little more than "crib" from the despised Hawkins. At any rate, positive though he sounds as to the duration of Johnson's residence at Oxford, there is direct biographical evidence to prove him to some extent inaccurate, for we know that on 30 October 1731 Johnson wrote from Lichfield to Gregory Hickman, of Stourbridge, where he had applied some time before for an usher-ship, that he was "yet unemployed,"† which makes it clear, at least, that he was at the University less than three years, not more.

Principally as bearing upon the length of Johnson's stay at Oxford, there has been some discussion as to whether William Adams was ever really his tutor. Hawkins tells us that he was:—

His tutor, Jordan, in about a year's space, went off to a living which he had been presented to, upon giving a bond to resign it in favour of a minor, and Johnson became the pupil of Mr. Adams, a person of far superior endowments, who afterwards attained a doctor's degree, and is at this time head of his college. Encouraged, by a change so propitious to his studies, he prosecuted them with diligence, attended both public and private lectures, performed his exercises with alacrity, and in short, neglected no means or opportunities of improvement.‡

"He had at this time," continues Hawkins with heavy disapproval, introducing the story of John Meeke,§ "a great emulation, *to call it by no worse a name*, to excel his competitors in literature." The italics are not Hawkins's.

Boswell has a paragraph on the subject that has caused much puzzlement:—

Dr. Adams, the worthy and respectable master of Pembroke College, has generally had the reputation of being Johnson's tutor. The fact, however, is, that in 1731 Mr. Jorden quitted the College, and his pupils were transferred to

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 441.

† See *post*, p. 64.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 11-12.

§ See *ante*, p. 16.

Dr. Adams ; so that had Johnson returned, Dr. Adams *would have been his tutor*. It is to be wished, that this connection had taken place. His equal temper, mild disposition, and politeness of manners, might have insensibly softened the harshness of Johnson, and infused into him those more delicate charities, those *petites morales*, in which, it must be confessed, our great moralist was more deficient than his best friends could fully justify. Dr. Adams paid Johnson this high compliment. He said to me at Oxford, in 1776, "I was his nominal tutor ; but he was above my mark." When I repeated it to Johnson, his eyes flashed with grateful satisfaction, and he exclaimed, "That was liberal and noble."\*

It is around the phrase "nominal tutor" that discussion has chiefly centred. What exactly was meant by it ? The natural interpretation of Adams's speech, taking it as it stands, is that he actually had Johnson under him as a pupil, but that the pupil in this case was more advanced, or at least had greater abilities, than the tutor. Yet Boswell has already told us that Adams took over Jorden's pupils in (as he says) 1731, and that he merely would have been Johnson's tutor if Johnson had not by that time left the College. So that we cannot interpret it in what seems the natural way. Croker said that "if Adams called himself his nominal tutor only because the pupil was above his mark, the expression would be liberal and noble ; but if he was his nominal tutor, only because he would have been his tutor if Johnson had returned, the case is different, and Boswell is, either way, guilty of an inaccuracy."† Dr. Birkbeck Hill challenges this rather pedantic piece of reasoning :—

I cannot admit, however, with Mr. Croker that Boswell is, either way, guilty of an inaccuracy. Suppose a brief pause between the two parts of Dr. Adams's statement, and all is explained. "I was his nominal tutor ; that is to say, his name was on my lecture lists ; but even if he had attended I should still have been his nominal tutor, his tutor only in name, for he was above my mark."‡

This is quite a reasonable interpretation, but is not really required to rebut Croker. For Johnson's "grateful satisfaction" was evoked by Adams's statement that "he was above my mark," not by the much discussed "nominal tutor" phrase. This seems obvious on the face

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 79.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, pp. 335-6.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

of it, and can be clinched by two extracts from Boswell's original notebook, the first of which runs :—

Dr. Adams some time Rector of St. Chads Shrewsbury and afterwards Master of Pembroke told me (Oxford 20 March 1776) I was his nominal Tutor some time But he was above my mark. This Dr. Johnson said (on my telling him it 23 Sept. 1777) was liberal & noble.\*

The second extract, under "Ashbourne 20 Sept. 1777," is partly repetitive, but runs rather differently :—

He said it was liberal and noble in Dr. Adams to say he was above his mark ; and that the Dr. had told him he was the best Scholar he ever knew come to Oxford.†

The first extract rather supports Birkbeck Hill's interpretation, and gives him the "brief pause between the two parts of Dr. Adams's statement" for which he asked. And the phrasing, "I was his nominal Tutor *some time*," favours the idea that we should take "nominal tutor" in its literal rather than in its rhetorical sense. In view of Boswell's own explanation, it is, indeed, folly to argue to the contrary, but he is himself to blame for having connected the two statements together in the finished version in such a way as to make them seem antithetical. The second extract shows still more clearly that we are not to attribute Johnson's satisfaction to the expression about nominal tutorship, which Boswell, understanding that Dr. Adams used it quite literally, perhaps did not really repeat to him, it being a mere statement of fact and not a compliment.

To Samuel Richardson, on 28 March 1754, Johnson wrote thus :—

I must beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Adams under whom I had the honour to perform exercises at Oxford. . . . .‡

Dr. Birkbeck Hill explains this away as "no contradiction of the statement that Adams was only Johnson's 'nominal tutor,' " as "the 'exercises' were often performed in the hall, no doubt before the Master and Fellows." But it must be admitted that Johnson here seems to suggest something more personal than this ; and that Dr. Hill's arguments sound a little sophistical.

As an argument in favour of Johnson having finally left Pembroke

\* *Boswell's Note Book*, ed. R. W. Chapman, p. 8.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

‡ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 437.

in December 1729, Croker first pointed out that the College "possesses two scholarships, to one of which Johnson would have been eligible, and probably (considering his claims) elected in 1730, had he been a candidate." Dr. Birkbeck Hill states that even in his time these scholarships were only worth £10 apiece.\* But, apart from that, the argument could carry little weight.

A much better point against the Boswellian chronology can be made by quoting Johnson's description of Oliver Edwards, in 1778, as "an old fellow-collegian, who had not seen me since 1729."†

As we have heard, Edwards was entered at Pembroke in June 1729,‡ about the middle of Johnson's admitted residence there; and he remained until about the middle of April 1730.§ On the face of it, therefore, we should conclude that Johnson could not have returned after Christmas 1729, or his statement would be incorrect; and Croker treated it as important confirmation of the short date theory. But Dr. Birkbeck Hill points out that "to a man used to Old Style, as Johnson was, April 10, 1730, is so near to 1729 that at the distance of nearly fifty years Johnson may easily have been wrong by a week or two"; and so refuses to buttress his own argument by the case of Edwards.|| We may add that Johnson's memory, though good, was not infallible as far as dates were concerned, and he may even have made an actual error as to the year.¶ But it is not likely, and, however we discount the story, it tells against Boswell and Hawkins, though, if we followed Hawkins's own statement,\*\* we might argue that Johnson, after leaving Oxford in December 1729, did not return for his second period there till after Edwards had left.

Dr. Birkbeck Hill makes the point that Johnson, so far as our scanty records go, never mentioned any fellow-collegian who entered

\* *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, p. 332.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 302; Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, I., 83.

‡ See *ante*, p. 23.

§ See *post*, Appendix F., p. 146.

|| *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, p. 337.

¶ As he did when he gave the year of his marriage as 1736 (instead of 1735), and of his wife's death as 1753 (instead of 1752). See *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 235, 236.

\*\* See *ante*, p. 32.



after 1729,\* barring George Whitefield, the great preacher, whose case is perhaps the most puzzling of all. On one occasion, in 1779, Boswell alludes to Johnson's "fellow-collegian, the celebrated Mr. George Whitefield"†; while at Edinburgh, on 15 August 1773, they "talked of *Whitefield*. He said, he was at the same college with him, and knew him *before he began to be better than other people* (smiling)."‡ We should gather from these references that Johnson was actually at Pembroke with Whitefield, who, however, did not matriculate until 7 November 1732,§ a full year after Johnson's name had been removed from the College books.|| We may explain away "fellow-collegian," and "at the same college with him," as not necessarily implying that they were there at the same time; but the coupling with the latter expression of Johnson's claim to have known him "before he began to be better than other people" makes it much harder to do in that instance. For of Johnson's visit to Oxford in 1754 Thomas Warton tells us that it "was the first time of his being there, after quitting the University";¶ and the incidents he relates support the statement, which is further corroboration of the fact that Johnson evidently had not visited Oxford between the time of Taylor's leaving in September 1730 and his letter to Gilbert Repington of 18 May 1735.\*\* How then can Johnson have known Whitefield in early life? There seems to have been no opportunity for them to have met, as Whitefield was born at Gloucester, at the end of 1714, and lived there until he went to College. It may be remarked that Whitefield's mother decided to send him to Pembroke, when he was about sixteen, on the recommendation of one of his schoolfellows, who had gone up to that College as a servitor,†† but he remained at home till he was nearly eighteen. It might be suggested that Whitefield had gone to visit his friend at College, and there met Johnson. But I am inclined to identify his friend with William, son

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\* *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, p. 339.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 409.

‡ *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 181.

§ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

|| See *post*, p. 159.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 271.

\*\* See *post*, p. 114.

†† L. Tyerman's *Life of Rev. George Whitefield*, 1876, I., 8-9; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, II., 101.

of William Howlett, of St. Michael, city of Gloucester, *pleb.*, who matriculated from Pembroke on 21 March 1729/30, aged 16, taking his B.A. in 1733 and his M.A. in 1736.\* He was of Whitefield's age, the date of matriculation fits the story, and the father's condition is in keeping with the son being a servitor. But if Johnson left Oxford finally in December 1729 he could not have met Howlett there, or any of Howlett's friends. We cannot imagine Johnson's meeting with Whitefield to have occurred after the latter had left Oxford, for it was while there that he "began to be better than other people." It may be mentioned that old Michael Johnson held an auction sale at Gloucester early in 1718†; perhaps he stayed at the Bell Inn, which was kept by Whitefield's parents, or even held his sale there.

It is possible that Boswell slightly misunderstood what Johnson said as to his relations with Whitefield; and Johnson's reading of the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* in manuscript does not seem to have covered this period.‡ Dr. Birkbeck Hill has pointed out that if Johnson "had known Whitefield he would have known Shenstone, for Shenstone entered Pembroke six months before Whitefield;§ but, so far as I know, there is no evidence that they were ever acquainted."||

There was an actual fellow-collegian of Johnson's whose name does not occur in any of the biographical literature concerning him, though he is said to have maintained a friendship with Johnson throughout a long life—a life, indeed, extended seven years beyond that of his distinguished contemporary. This was Walter Chapman, who matriculated from Pembroke on 14 March 1728/9, aged 16, taking his B.A. in 1732 and his M.A. in 1735. He was thus, though three or four years younger than Johnson, only a few months his junior in College,¶ and some three months senior to Oliver Edwards.\*\* He rose

\* Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 96.

‡ Johnson's remarks were made on 15 Aug., whereas it is not until 18 Aug. that Boswell notes that "my *Journal*, from this day inclusive, was read by Dr. Johnson" (*Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 196). He continued to read it until 26 Oct. (*ibid.*, pp. 240, 311, 336, 367, 404).

§ Shenstone matric. 25 May 1732 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).

|| *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, p. 340.

¶ See ante, p. 5.

\*\* See ante, p. 23.

to respectable office in the church, as Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, Master of St. John's Hospital, Bath, and Prebendary of Bristol. *The Gentleman's Magazine* tells us that "he was not only a contemporary and fellow-collegian, but had lived in habits of the closest intimacy with the late Dr. Johnson, Mr. Shenstone, and many other literary characters." Chapman was still at Pembroke when Shenstone entered in May 1732,\* and to this extent formed an actual link between Johnson and the poet.

It is very remarkable, if Chapman lived "in habits of the closest intimacy" with Johnson, that no record of it survives. A clergyman who spent all his life, after he had qualified for the church, in or near Bath, can only have kept in touch with Johnson through the medium of correspondence, and it is unfortunate that Chapman ordered all his papers to be burned immediately after his death.† If some of Johnson's letters were among his papers, they must have helped to feed the flames. Johnson visited Bath in April 1776, with the Thrales, and was joined there by Boswell,‡ and if he had really kept in touch with Chapman he is pretty sure to have taken the opportunity of visiting him.

If the Rev. Thomas Patten's friendship with Johnson had begun at Oxford, it would have had an important bearing upon the question of his residence there. For Patten matriculated from Brasenose College on 6 Feb. 1729/30,§ nearly two months after Johnson left Pembroke for Lichfield.|| But in Johnson's letter to him of 25 September 1781 there is no suggestion of it, though long friendship is suggested; nor in the letter of Patten's which called for this reply from his "dear and honoured friend Johnson."¶ As Patten survived until 20 February 1790,\*\* it is rather remarkable that Boswell either did not approach him for biographical particulars, or approached him unsuccessfully.

When the Rev. William Worthington died in October 1778

\* See *ante*, p. 38.

† See *post*, Appendix J., pp. 183-4.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 44 *et seq.*

§ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

|| See *ante*, pp. 25-6.

¶ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 224-6

\*\* See account of him in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*



Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale :—" I have known Worthington long."\* On the journey into Wales, in 1774, Johnson, with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, spent the night of 8 September with Worthington in his vicarage at Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant.† Now Worthington was an Oxford man, who had taken his B.A. at Jesus College on 22 February 1725/6, and his M.A. at Cambridge, from St John's, in 1730.‡ If, for the five intervening years, he had remained at Oxford, he might have made Johnson's acquaintance there, but it appears that for some at least of that period he was an usher at Oswestry Grammar School, where he had been educated.§ Probably their friendship was of a later date, and arose through Worthington's literary work, his first publication being in 1743.||

As regards this question of how long Johnson remained at Oxford, there is a paragraph of Hawkins's which demands careful consideration :—

Upon his leaving the university, he went home to the house of his father, which he found so nearly filled with relations, that is to say, the maiden sisters of his mother and uncle [corrected to "*cousin*" in 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. same year] Cornelius Ford, whom his father, on the decease of their brother in the summer of 1731, had taken in to board, that it would scarce receive him.¶

Here at least we have got away from general conjecture, or evidence connected with common knowledge, and linked the problem with the obscure history of Johnson's own kin. Evidence of this character demands close investigation, because, over half a century after the event occurred, it can scarcely have come from anyone but Johnson himself—from what he had spoken or what he had written.

\* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 73.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 453-4; *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, by A. M. Broadley, 1910, p. 208.

‡ *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, Part III., 1903, ed. R. F. Scott, p. 430. Sir Robert Scott explains to me that at Cambridge a B.A. could proceed to his M.A. degree without the period of residence required at Oxford. So that the Oxford B.A. could be admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge, at the morning congregation on the Saturday preceding Commencement Sunday, and at the afternoon congregation proceed to the M.A. degree. Worthington carried this juggling a point further, for he returned to Oxford and was incorporated M.A. there on 14 July 1730, just a fortnight after he had been admitted a pensioner at St. John's, Cambridge.

§ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 57.

|| See his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¶ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 19.



Unfortunately, he does not tell us which. And he was, again unfortunately, in some confusion as to Cornelius Ford's relationship to Johnson. In the first edition, as I have just noted, he calls him "uncle," but alters it in the second edition to "cousin," which is, of course, correct, for it was "Parson" Cornelius Ford, not Johnson's uncle of the same names, who died "in the summer of 1731," to be precise on 22 August.\* But this introduces fresh confusion. I gather that Hawkins had some evidence of Cornelius Ford's maiden sisters going to lodge with Michael Johnson after their brother's death, and believing this was Cornelius the uncle he thought to make the relationship still more clear by describing them as "the maiden sisters of his *mother and* uncle Cornelius Ford." This, though obviously incorrect—for Johnson's mother had no maiden sisters†—was intelligible. But when he changed "uncle" to "cousin," without crossing out the words "*mother and*," it threw the whole definition out of gear, and implied two lots of maiden sisters, those of his mother and those of his cousin, which he can scarcely have meant to do.‡ "Parson" Ford had two sisters, Ann [1692-1744], and Phœbe [1696-1766], who lived and died spinsters,§ and who may quite well have taken rooms in Michael Johnson's house, though as they were apparently of independent means, and did not live with their brother, it is hard to see why his death in London should have affected their domestic arrangements. And on 6 November 1731 they were both described as of Wolverhampton.||

This statement by Hawkins, that Johnson did not return home from Oxford until at least some weeks after an event which we know happened on 22 August 1731, might be claimed as a strong point in favour of the Boswellian chronology, the more so because it is made with no intention of proving Hawkins's own statement that Johnson's "residence in the university" extended to "about three years,"¶

\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 159.

† *Ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXIX.

‡ At *ibid.*, p. 165, I dealt with this passage in ignorance of the fact that Hawkins had previously written "uncle," so could not offer the explanation that now seems reasonable.

§ *Ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXIX.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6.

¶ See *ante*, p. 32.

which he evidently saw no reason to question. Against it we might weigh the suggestion that Johnson, when he went as usher to Market Bosworth, served under Anthony Blackwall, who died on 8 April 1730. But this will be discussed later on.\*

Whatever the circumstances under which Johnson had quitted Pembroke, they were not such as to leave any sense of humiliation, for he always was glad to keep in touch with his old College, and exulted in his connexion with the University. So early as 18 May 1735, while his memories of Oxford must have been quite undimmed, he had written to Gilbert Repington :—"I have many other Acquaintance in the University whom I remember with Pleasure."† There is no trace of bitterness in this recollection, which, it may here be remarked, is a little puzzling. Whether he left in 1729 or 1731, how could he, in 1735, still have many acquaintances there? Practically all his contemporaries, save for a few who had become fellows, must have departed at least a year or two before. It is, however, to be observed that they were "other Acquaintance" than Richard Congreve, who had not matriculated from Christ Church until 17 March 1732/3,‡ and so was not his University contemporary, any more than was Gilbert Repington, to whom the letter was written, who had not matriculated until 7 December 1734.§ They were only early friends at Lichfield, and so the "other acquaintance" then at Oxford may some of them have been similarly acquired.

When Johnson visited Oxford in 1754 he much regretted to Thomas Warton, that "his *first* tutor was dead."|| This, of course, referred to Jorden.¶ On this visit "he was highly pleased to find all the College-servants which he had left there still remaining, particularly a very old butler;†† and expressed great satisfaction at being recognized by them, and conversed with them familiarly."\*\* Near the close of his life, in 1782, he escorted Hannah More round the College. "You

\* See *post*, pp. 76-7.

† See *post*, p. 117.

|| See *ante*, p. 9.

‡ See *post*, p. 114.

§ See *post*, p. 114.

¶ See *ante*, p. 6.

\*\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 271.

†† Probably Hopkins. When Erasmus Philipps entered the College on 1 Aug. 1720 he paid his entrance money to "Mr. Hopkins the College Butler" (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 365). The will, dated 1726, and codicil, dated 1743, of Robert Parkes, of Pembroke College (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 201) are both witnessed by "John Hopkins." And John Hopkins, "butler of Pembroke College," was admitted to the

cannot imagine," she wrote, "with what delight he showed me every part of his own College . . . . he would let no one show it me but himself—'This was my room; this Shenstone's.' Then after pointing out all the rooms of the poets who had been of his college, 'In short,' said he, 'we were a nest of singing birds.' . . . . He ran over with pleasure the history of the juvenile days he passed there."\* And Miss Adams, the Master's daughter, writing to a friend from Oxford, on 14 June 1782, said:—"He [Dr. J.] took great delight in shewing Miss More every part of Pembroke College, and his own rooms, &c. and told us many things of himself when here."†

It has been generally assumed that when Johnson left College in December 1729 (whether for good or not) the cause lay in his poverty. But, though he certainly was behindhand with his payments,‡ the immediate cause of his return to Lichfield was probably the acute attack of melancholia which frightened Edmund Hector and led to a partial break with Dr. Swynfen.§ The extraordinary thing is that Boswell never could learn the truth about Johnson's Oxford career, though he came into personal contact with at least three men who

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privileges of the University on 27 Jany. 1762 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). It was quite a usual thing for College servants to be so elected, and thus enjoy the legal and other immunities of graduates and undergraduates (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, X., 381-3). John, son of John Hopkins, of St. Aldate's, Oxford, *pleb.*, matric. 16 Oct. 1731, aged 15; B.A. 1735; M.A. 1738; B.D. 1758 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*); after being 26 years Vicar of Cropredy, Oxon., he died there 26 Mch. 1785, aged 69, following a lengthy spell of incapacitation from his duties (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1785, p. 324). Croker identifies Johnson's "very old butler" with the servant whom John Ratcliff, Master of Pembroke from 1738 to his death in 1775 (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 203), made his residuary legatee (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 89). The dates alone seem to preclude this. And John Ratcliff's will, dated 19 Jany. 1773, leaves the residue of his estate, as well as £1000 and an estate at Haresfield, co. Glouc., to "George Sherwood, butler of Pembroke College," various members of whose family are also mentioned. George Sherwood, of Oxford University, gent., swore to his handwriting on 15 Aug. 1775. George Sherwood, "manciple of Pembroke College," had been admitted to the privileges of the University on 3 Feb. 1762, a week later than John Hopkins (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). A manciple was a servant who purchased provisions (*O. E. Dict.*). "Mr. Geo. Sherwood, many years butler of Pembroke College, Oxford," did not die until 2 June 1791 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1791, 587); he can hardly have been the "very old butler" of 1754. In the buttery book scribbles for 1728-29 we find, "J: Hopkins Butler" and "Hopkins take care May 11"; and for 1731-32, "Est Cræso diti Solers vel ditior Hopkins."

\* *Memoirs of Hannah More*, by William Roberts, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1834, I., 261-2.

† *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1840, vol. 169, p. 17.

‡ See *post*, pp. 56-7.

§ See *ante*, p. 26.

must have known it, and who were apparently glad to give him information—William Adams, John Taylor, and Edmund Hector. Adams, it is clear from the particulars he supplied, must have recollected the circumstances of Johnson's life at College with great clearness.\* Yet why, if Johnson did not return after December 1729, was Boswell left with the impression that he had stayed till the autumn of 1731 ?† Hector not only did not explain those blank years when Boswell met him and corresponded with him, but he lived to read and express high appreciation of his great biography without correcting him on the point. Then there was Oliver Edwards, whom Boswell met,‡ and who could also probably have enlightened him. This common reticence all points to melancholia as the real cause of Johnson's leaving, for mere shortness of funds would not have demanded such careful concealment.

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\* "The history of my Oxford exploits lies all between him [Taylor] and Adams," Johnson told Mrs. Thrale on 18 July 1773 (Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1786, p. 32).

† See *ante*, p. 32.

‡ See *post*, Appendix F., p. 143.



## CHAPTER IV.

THE LENGTH OF HIS RESIDENCE AT OXFORD :  
THE EVIDENCE OF THE BUTTERY BOOKS.

*Croker opens the argument, and ends Johnson's residence in December 1729—His conclusions correct, but his evidence not sufficient to convince—Percy Fitzgerald champions the biographers and their tale of three years' residence—Birkbeck Hill supports Croker, and Fitzgerald enlarges his own argument—Further discussion : Napier favours Croker—Croker's opinion derived from the then Master of Pembroke—The grounds on which Fitzgerald argued, and his support from Whitwell Elwin—The charges against Johnson after he is supposed to have left—Birkbeck Hill's full review of the evidence—The difficulty of John Taylor removed—Napier's impartial summing-up—The experts' conclusions only cautiously received—Unsatisfactory state of the controversy—A fresh attack on the buttery books decided upon—A description of the books—The charges against Johnson : those after December 1729 the stumbling block—Tabulation and analysis of the accounts—The later charges at last explained : feast-day absence fines and quarterly levies—Many other men's names kept on books after departure—Names often dropped for a few weeks—Johnson's last days in College—His battels quite normal in amount—Was Adams literally only "nominal tutor" to Johnson?—The biographical arguments—The question answered by the buttery books—Johnson's battels in arrears at his departure, but wiped off the books in 1740—A common occurrence—His reputation at College probably exaggerated by the biographers—Promised assistance by the Corbets—Leaving his books in Taylor's care evidence of premature departure and expected return—Did Johnson confuse Whitefield with Whitehead or Whitehouse?—Fellows in residence with him—His fellow-undergraduates and their careers—Mostly country parsons—Similar records of graduates then in College—His family connexion through the Crowleys with James Hallett, the rich gentleman commoner—Johnson's knowledge of the Crowleys—Fellow members of the College who survived him.*

HAVING now reviewed all the evidence supplied by the biographers as to the length of Johnson's residence at Oxford, and found it quite inconclusive, we can turn to a study of the College records and see

what can be learned from them. The first person seriously to challenge the statement of Boswell and Hawkins that Johnson remained in residence approximately three years was the ever-curious Croker, to whom it occurred, close on a century ago, to make "an examination of the College books." Apparently this examination was actually made by Dr. George William Hall, Master of Pembroke since 1809, whose interest he engaged by his enquiries. It proved, Croker tells us, "that Johnson, who entered on the 31<sup>st</sup> October, 1728, remained there, even during the vacations, to the 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1729, when he personally left the college, and never returned—though his *name* remained on the books till 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1731."\*

This conclusion of Croker's, or perhaps we should say of Dr. Hall's, I shall prove was strictly correct. But being put forward in the form of a mere assertion, without any explanation of the evidence on which it was based, it did not gain general acceptance, and the arguments of later editors, who found difficulties which are ignored in Croker's note on the subject, left the issue more in doubt, as even those who favoured his conclusion did not feel able to speak so positively as he had done, while there were others who went so far as to dissent from it altogether and to question the validity of the evidence on which he relied.

The first man, so far as I know, to investigate the problem seriously, after Croker, was Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, who published his edition of *Boswell* in 1874. In a long footnote he attacked Croker's conclusions and endeavoured to re-establish the Boswellian chronology. With the help of Dr. Evan Evans, then Master, and of Henry William Chandler, Waynflete Professor of Philosophy, he carefully examined the College buttry books, following Johnson's name week by week and noting all the charges against it.†

Fitzgerald's incursion brought Dr. Birkbeck Hill, then unknown as a Johnsonian, into the field, who later in the same year, 1874, contributed a long article to *The Saturday Review*, in which he supported Croker's conclusion against Fitzgerald, after an independent examination of the buttry books with the help of Professor Chandler. This

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\* Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 13; Birkbeck Hill's *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, 1878, pp. 329-45.

† Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, I., 38-9.

article he reprinted four years later, and added an important "note" of three pages.\*

In 1880, in a volume of Johnsonian medley, Fitzgerald devoted fifteen pages to re-affirming his arguments in favour of the Boswell version, going into considerable detail and quoting Professor Chandler at some length on the buttery books, in an endeavour to counter Dr. Birkbeck Hill.†

Seven years later, in 1887, Dr. Birkbeck Hill's great edition of *Boswell* appeared, with a long footnote in which he adhered to his arguments of 1874 and ignored Fitzgerald's counter-arguments.‡ The year 1884 had brought the edition of the Rev. Alexander Napier, who in a four-page appendix summed up all the evidence very temperately, and, after a personal examination of the buttery books, decided definitely, if rather reluctantly, against Fitzgerald.§

In 1898 Fitzgerald returned to the attack, in a volume directed entirely against Birkbeck Hill's editions, and in ten columns of small print reiterated his belief that Johnson spent three years at Oxford.||

Though it is not necessary for me now to examine all the arguments of these disputants in great detail, as I have gone into the whole question independently and reached a final conclusion, I must yet give a brief account of the evidence they put forward and the conclusions they drew from it. The foundation of Croker's argument was the following statement by Dr. Hall, after an examination of "the college books"—that is, the buttery books :—

He was not quite three years a member of the College, having been entered October 31, 1728, and his name having been finally removed October 8, 1731. It would appear by the temporary suspension of his name and replacement of it, as if he had contemplated an earlier departure from College, and had been induced to continue on with the hope of returning; this, however, he never did after his absence December 1729, having kept a continuous residence of sixty weeks.

This assertion is very positive, and Croker, as we have seen,

\* *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, 1878, pp. 329-45

† *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, pp. 127-141.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 78-9.

§ Napier's *Boswell*, I., 405-9.

|| *A Critical Examination of Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill's "Johnsonian" Editions*, 1898, pp. 38-42.



accepted it wholeheartedly. But there was not enough explanation of the College books, of the way in which they were kept, and of the particular entries said to justify the assertion, to convince those for whom the mere word of one in authority was insufficient to place all Johnson's biographers in the wrong.

When Fitzgerald essayed to challenge Croker he armed himself with actual details of the weekly charges entered against Johnson's name in the buttery books, as extracted for him by Professor Chandler, and printed them for our instruction. This marked a distinct advance in method. The extracts showed that Johnson's name was first entered on 25 October 1728, without charge, and that next week, and each succeeding week down to 5 December 1729, he was charged normal battels of 8<sup>s</sup>/- or thereabouts. On 12 December 1729 he was charged only 5<sup>s</sup>/7, and after that date he never had a normal charge against him, but only a few odd amounts during 1730, varying from 5<sup>d</sup> to 4<sup>s</sup>/7. The extracts also showed that Johnson's name, as Dr. Hall mentioned, had suffered "temporary suspension" from after 27 November 1730 till its restoration on 29 January 1730/1; and again from 5 February 1730/1 till its restoration on 12 March 1730/1.

Fitzgerald's argument was founded mainly on the retention of his name on the books after December 1729, and on the odd charges against him in 1730. These charges Croker ignored, though he may have been justified in doing so, for Dr. Hall, who had entered Pembroke as long ago as 1788, could perhaps explain their real meaning, which later custodians of the College records have been quite unable to do. If Johnson, Fitzgerald contended, had really left in December 1730, his name would have been dropped out of the lists; and in the sporadic charges he saw more definite evidence of the student's presence in College, even if irregularly or under some unusual condition. The Rev. Whitwell Elwin, who supported Fitzgerald against Croker, formulated for him a theory that the College, "in consideration of his great learning and abilities," decided to give Johnson free commons after it became impossible for him to pay his own way—a piece of pure speculation. As regards the two periods when his name was omitted altogether, Fitzgerald contended that its restoration on each occasion is evidence of Johnson's return to College after a short absence. And, generally, he rather endeavoured to discredit the authority of the



buttery books as ultimate arbiters in the controversy over Johnson's length of residence, though, like all of us, glad to use their evidence when seemingly in his favour. Finally, he remarked that Professor Chandler and Dr. Birkbeck Hill, after all their investigation of the buttery books, had failed to discover another case where a student's name was kept on the books while he remained away from College.\*

Dr. Birkbeck Hill, when he first entered the field, endeavoured to impress upon Fitzgerald that the buttery books constituted the only record of a man's residence in College by which the authorities could see that he had kept the required number of terms. He pointed out that neither Croker nor Fitzgerald had presented all the facts that bore on the question, and that they had arrived at their opposite decisions without full consideration. So he reviewed the accounts given by Boswell and Hawkins, and the arguments of Croker, Fitzgerald and Whitwell Elwin. The controversy was very much complicated up to that time by Croker's assumption that a John Taylor who was admitted a commoner of Christ Church on 27 June 1730 was Johnson's friend of that name who, it is quite clear from Boswell† and Mrs. Piozzi,‡ came up to Oxford before Johnson left. This constituted a serious difficulty in accepting that Johnson never returned after December 1729, and Croker himself could suggest no reasonable explanation. Dr. Birkbeck Hill "wobbled" a little over this disconcerting "fact," until he found, to his delight, that the John Taylor who was Johnson's friend had "matriculated" on 24 February 1728/9.§ This cleared the air and made Dr. Hill much more certain of his own case, which he buttressed (a little doubtfully) by Johnson's remark about his own fellow-collegian Oliver Edwards, in 1778, that he "had not seen me since 1729":|| and by the fact that there was not one among

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\* Yet Chandler's letter to him, which he quotes, had stated:—"Again, there seems to be nothing special or peculiar about Johnson's name. Many other names are, so far as I can see, treated very much in the same manner. They are entered with no charges against them; they are sometimes omitted, and afterwards restored. The scribe, was not, I suppose, always accurate" (*Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, p. 131).

† See *ante*, p. 13.

‡ See *ante*, p. 13.

§ Or rather, first been entered in the buttery books; he matric. 10 Mch. 1728/9 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*).

|| See *ante*, p. 36.

Johnson's known friends at College who had entered after 1729, barring Whitefield, whose case lay outside the arguments of both sides.\* But the odd entries against Johnson's name in 1730 he could not explain, so, less positively than Croker, he sums up the evidence as showing that "Johnson's residence at Oxford practically came to an end in December 1729," though "the books seem to show that he was in residence one week in March 1730, and one week in the following September."†

Napier, though he examined the books himself, did not discuss their figures in detail, but, after reviewing the biographers' statements, and remarking that, taken by itself, Boswell's assertion (when we consider his opportunities for having learned the truth) that Johnson left Pembroke in the autumn of 1731, would almost amount to "positive evidence," he pronounces nevertheless that "it would be idle to dispute the authoritative character of these buttery books." He mentions the small amounts charged against Johnson's name after December 1729, and presciently suggests that they were "probably College charges of some kind, but not battels."

That, in brief, is a record of the long controversy. It will be seen that expert opinion has favoured Croker's conclusion, which has, however, failed to carry general conviction, so far as one can judge from the guarded statements of other biographers and annotators who have not made independent investigation. "*At Oxford Johnson resided barely over two years, possibly less.*" For sheer oracular futility we cannot match this of Macaulay's, with its misleading postulation of a two years' residence, which there was no evidence to suggest—but it still stands in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. In *The Dictionary of National Biography* Leslie Stephen says that "the dates, however, are confused," and against Boswell and Hawkins quotes Birkbeck Hill on the College books, which "show him to have resided continuously till 12 Dec. 1729, after which he only resided for a few brief periods, and his name was removed on 8 Oct. 1731." Colonel Grant, who was a close student, accepted Birkbeck Hill's verdict that "his residence virtually came to an end in December 1729," but he ignored

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\* See *ante*, p. 37.

† Dr. Hill enters into other arguments, but as some of them are based on imperfect knowledge, or inaccurate dates, I have not dealt with them here.

the later charges, and also said that Johnson returned home "after a brief appearance at Oxford in October 1731"—quite an invention of his own.\* Maclean, the College historian, considers the buttery books "conclusive" in favour of Croker and Dr. Hill, but he again, while mentioning the later charges, offers no explanation of them.† Mr. Birrell quotes Birkbeck Hill's "opinion," and evidently accepts it too, but takes no personal responsibility.‡ A careful modern short edition of selections from *Boswell* guardedly says that "some editors adopt the theory that Boswell is here wrong, and that Johnson was at Oxford but little more than a year."§ Even more recently Dr. Nichol Smith, whose judgement on questions of eighteenth century biography carries particular weight, while admitting that Croker's "view has been commonly adopted," expressed his opinion that "the arguments for residence till 1731 remain the stronger."||

This, then, was the unsatisfactory condition in which I found the problem when the progress of my work forced me to deal with it, though with little hope of success. The evidence that Johnson's residence in College practically ceased in December 1729 was so strong as almost to amount to proof. But why was his name retained on the books for nearly two years afterwards, and why were charges booked against him till late in 1730? With these questions unanswered, and the positive statements of the biographers confronting us, it was impossible to regard the problem as finally settled. Even Birkbeck Hill had been compelled to recede a little from Croker's position, and to allow that Johnson probably visited his College more than once in 1730. With this element of uncertainty introduced it is not surprising that others hesitated to become complete converts to the short date theory.

From the first it was clear that the only hope of carrying the argument farther, barring some lucky—and extremely improbable—find of direct evidence, lay in making a much fuller study of the

\* *Life of Samuel Johnson*, by Lieut.-Col. F. Grant, 1887, pp. 24, 28.

† *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 340.

‡ Birrell's *Boswell*, 1903, I., 49.

§ *Selections from Boswell's Life of Johnson* ("Bell's English Texts"), by E. A. J.

Marsh, 1909, p. 105.

|| *Camb. Hist. of English Literature*, vol. X., 1913, pp. 158-9.



buttery books than anyone had previously attempted. The chances of success seemed rather remote, but no other road presented itself, and so the effort had to be made. In an appendix I have described in detail all the work involved, the character of the evidence accumulated, and the eventual complete success that rewarded the enquiry.\* Here I shall give just a brief summary of the whole.

The buttery books are large volumes in which was entered at the beginning of every College week, on Friday, a complete list of all eligible College members, grouped according to status, and each group in order of seniority. Opposite each man's name were entered the charges incurred by him during the ensuing seven days for food and drink supplied from the College kitchen and buttery, as well as some other official levies and fines. The supplies were known as "commons," and the charges as "battels." In the case of normal battels, each man's daily charges were separated by a short vertical line drawn at pleasure with the pen, the total for the week being entered in a column at the right-hand side of the page. In other cases, especially during vacations, small charges, not allocated to any special day, were entered against men's names, and the totals, in a different notation, entered in mid-page.

The charges against Johnson are as already briefly set forth,† and as given in full detail in my appendix.‡ No one has disputed that the normal charges from 1 November 1728 to 5 December 1729 represent continuous residence in College, the smaller amount of 5<sup>s</sup>/7 on 12 December being taken as a sign that he left before the week was out. It is the charges after 12 December 1729, all entered in mid-page, as just described, that have proved such a stumbling block to an unquestioning belief in the theory that Johnson did not return to College, and compelled even Birkbeck Hill to postulate a few brief visits.§

It was on these charges then that I had to concentrate. It was only after a great deal of labour in tabulating and analysing all the men's accounts that was revealed to me what seems a very simple

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\* See *post*, Appendix H., pp. 153-75.

† See *ante*, p. 48.

‡ See *post*, p. 158. In the figures given by Birkbeck Hill and Fitzgerald are various small errors, but I need not trouble myself with these now.

§ See *ante*, p. 50.



fact when it is once discovered—that all the charges against Johnson after 12 December 1729 are exactly matched by identical charges entered against numbers of other commoners who were obviously out of residence, and, therefore, instead of providing an argument against his having left College for good in December 1729, they actually prove that he never returned after that date. This is a very brief statement of the argument, but I have given all the details elsewhere,\* and need not elaborate here.

This marked a great step forward, as settling finally that Boswell and Hawkins were wrong and that Johnson was only thirteen months at Oxford, instead of three years. The next step, an extremely interesting one, though not essential to the argument, was to show what the charges represented. And here again, with the help of Mr. Leonard Whibley, who has investigated College accounts at his own University of Cambridge, a complete answer was obtained. This answer I can put with equal brevity, leaving the details for separate study.† It is that the smaller charges (of 5<sup>d</sup> and 7<sup>d</sup>) all occur in weeks in which feast-days fell, and so represent fines for non-attendance; while the larger charges (of 4<sup>s</sup>/7) in each case belong to the last week of the College quarter, are reflected in the higher battels of the men in residence, and so must represent a general quarterly levy on College members.

In such a compass can be compressed the results of several months' arduous research and enquiry. That they represent the end of a century-long controversy I think none will dispute who trouble to master all the evidence. Now, wherever Johnson spent his time between his leaving Oxford in December 1729 and his writing that first-known letter of his to Gregory Hickman, on 30 October 1731,‡ we can state positively that it was not at Pembroke College.

Fitzgerald's appeal for cases similar to Johnson's, where a man's name was kept on the books while he remained away from College,§ can easily be answered. There were plenty of such, the men in some instances being subject to the periodic charges, and in some cases not. The cause of this discrimination I have not discovered, or why, as

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\* See *post*, Appendix H., p. 160 *et seq.*

† See *post*, Appendix H., p. 164 *et seq.*

‡ See *post*, p. 64.

§ See *ante*, p. 49.

with Johnson, the periodic charges sometimes ceased after a time, while the name was retained for a considerable period afterwards.\* As a matter of fact it was very rare for a man's name to be removed from the books under three years, even if he had gone down, and I have only discovered two cases besides that of Johnson in the period under review.† The normal time required for taking a degree was four years.‡

There are, too, plenty of instances of the names of residents being dropped for some weeks, as was Johnson's on two occasions, and then restored,§ but there is no reason to endow what were no doubt mere clerical lapses, afterwards made good, with any significance, as Fitzgerald wished us to do.||

The charge of 5<sup>s</sup>/7 against Johnson's name on 12 December 1729, instead of the usual 8<sup>s</sup>/-, has been interpreted as implying that he left before the end of the week, as already mentioned.¶ But as it appears in the form of a single undivided entry,\*\* and as this was the last week of the quarter, when there was a general charge levied on all the members, it may represent at most no more than one day's board plus the levy, which on this occasion, in the case of absent commoners, varied from 3<sup>s</sup>/11 to 5<sup>s</sup>/5.

Johnson's battels, during his thirteen months in College, were quite normal in amount, and did not vary from the battels of other commoners who came from well-to-do and even wealthy families, so that whatever the state of his wardrobe, he was able to "mind his belly."†† There were very few who showed such a record of unbroken residence, though it was quite a common thing for men at that time to remain up through the vacations.‡‡ He was evidently not drawing on his own personal experience when he expressed the opinion on his

\* See *post*, Appendix H., pp. 172-3.

† See *post*, Appendix H., p. 174.

‡ See *post*, Appendix H., pp. 174-5.

§ See *post*, Appendix H., pp. 173-4.

|| See *ante*, p. 48.

¶ See *ante*, p. 52.

\*\* As I have already explained, the scribe divided one day's charges from another's with a vertical line (*ante*, p. 52).

†† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 467.

‡‡ See *post*, Appendix H., p. 160.

Scottish tour in 1773, that the Scottish system, under which a student had eight solid months of education each year, was superior to that in the English universities, where there was the necessity for constant re-adjustment between life at home and life in College.\* At Aberdeen he told Professor Gordon that the "plan of education" there "was similar to that at Oxford."† At Calder, he gave the Rev. Kenneth McAulay "an account of the education at Oxford, in all its gradations."‡ A week or so earlier he had repeated, to the professors at St. Andrews, the Latin grace used when he was at Oxford.§

Intensive study of the buttery books has led to the solution of a small problem which has been much argued—whether William Adams ever actually was Johnson's tutor. In the previous chapter I have given what Hawkins and Boswell had to say on the subject, and what Croker and Birkbeck Hill put forward as their interpretations of the biographer's rather cryptic and contradictory statements. Hawkins said that when Jorden, "in about a year's space," was presented to a living which he had undertaken to resign in due course, to a minor, Johnson became Adams's pupil. Boswell, on the other hand, quoted Adams as remarking that he was "nominal tutor" to Johnson, and explained that when Jorden left the College, "in 1731," his pupils were transferred to Adams, who thus would have been Johnson's tutor if he had returned. The problem to which Croker and Hill directed their arguments was whether "nominal tutor" was a purely literal phrase or carried that rhetorical implication of the pupil's superiority which it is possible to read into Adams's remark as quoted by Boswell. I have shown that the biographical evidence supports Hill in accepting the phrase as of literal application, thus justifying Boswell, who, however, was himself to blame, by his method of reporting Adams's remark, for the doubts that afterwards arose as to its significance.||

And now for the evidence of the buttery books, which tell us, though very unwillingly, that Jorden was Vicegerent of the College,

\* *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 145.

† *Ibid.*, p. 212.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

|| See *ante*, p. 35.

or deputy to the Master, from October 1728 to October 1730. His name, therefore, does not appear during the time of Johnson's residence, except in the disguise of "*Mr. Vicemgerens*." We know, what Birkbeck Hill did not know, that though he was elected to the rectory of Odstock on 15 March 1728/9, it was under a misapprehension, and he never entered the living. We know, however, that he was presented to the rectory of Standon, in Staffordshire, on 8 November 1729, and inducted on 12 December 1729. At this very time he vacated his fellowship and the charges against "*Mr. Vicemgerens*" in the buttery books cease, showing that he remained in residence at Standon.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, what Adams meant when he said he had been Johnson's "nominal tutor." When Jorden went off to his living, in December 1729, Johnson became a pupil of Adams, but, as Johnson himself went away the same week and never returned, the relationship was only a nominal one. This, indeed, was Boswell's explanation, but, being convinced that Johnson stayed at Oxford till 1731, he said that Jorden quitted College that year. This created confusion, and Birkbeck Hill, not knowing that Jorden's election to Odstock in March 1728/9 was a fiasco, and thinking that he was in College for some part of 1730,\* helped to increase it.

Jorden was presented to Standon by William Vyse, the patron, then one of his pupils at Pembroke, who entered the living himself in October 1733, after he had taken his M.A. degree. It is remarkable that Hawkins should have known of the transaction which made this possible. In December 1731 Jorden had become Vicar of Seighford, not far from Standon, and he held that living until his death in January 1738/9. Very interesting to us is an unpublished note by his contemporary Staffordshire cleric, the Rev. Thomas Loxdale, that Jorden was "a noted Pupill Monger" at Pembroke College, a quite independent if rather sarcastic tribute to his success as a tutor there.

Boswell, alluding to Johnson's premature departure from Oxford, says that "his debts in College, though not great, were increasing."† When he left College his battels were certainly in arrears, probably to

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\* He found that Jorden's fellowship was filled up on 23 Dec. 1730, and naturally assumed he had not been long out of residence (*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, 1878, p. 336).

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 78.



the full extent of all the charges he had incurred during the last quarter; and this amount remained unpaid. But at a convention of the Master and fellows, held on 26 March 1740, his debt was balanced exactly against the £7 of his caution money, and his account thus settled. His was no isolated case to be so treated, and the list of twenty names includes seven men who had lived with him in College, one being his friend Andrew Corbet, who had considerable means behind him.\*

Mr. Fitzgerald's argument that this entry in the caution book "proves, at the least, that the college was giving him credit for his 'Battels,' " need not be examined now, and if he had known that so many other men were in similar case he would hardly have used it to prove special treatment for Johnson. Besides, while they held his caution money, they were not giving him credit. And we must "clear our minds of cant" in this connexion. It is extremely questionable whether he made sufficient impression at College to warrant the authorities in taking any unusual step to retain him, even if they had the power.† If Johnson had not lived to become famous we should never have heard one single word of his College career, apart from the fact of his translation of Pope's *Messiah* being printed in *Husbands's Miscellany* in 1731‡—no great distinction. We know how prone people are to make their friends' fame retrospective. Undoubtedly he must have been recognised as a young man of striking natural abilities, as being very widely read, and as possessing great mental power. But there was another side to the picture: he was, in many of his outward habits, uncouth and boorish, and his habits of mind, including a very evident dislike of discipline, were not such as to make him fit well into the routine of a University. However he may have impressed his intimates, and a few of his superiors, as a man much out of the common, it might well be that there were men with far less than his real gifts who would have had a better chance of being allowed free commons, if such were obtainable. On the personal side it is well worthy of note that while the scribblings in the buttery books include references to his

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\* See *post*, Appendix H., p. 169, and Appendix J., pp. 177-8.

† Mr. Maclean remarks:—"Even if it be the case that pecuniary help was not given, it has to be remembered that College funds are strictly appropriated" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 341).

‡ See *ante*, p. 12.

friends Phil Jones and Jack Meeke, and to many of their contemporaries, Johnson's own name never once occurs in this unofficial tribute to the possession of notable characteristics, pleasant or unpleasant.\* Perhaps it may be argued that the very omission constitutes a tribute to those slumbering physical powers that insult sometimes provoked into action.

The various controversialists seem to have overlooked Hawkins's statement bearing on this problem, that, after Andrew Corbet left Pembroke, Johnson obtained from Corbet's father "an agreement, during his continuance at college, to pay for his commons."† Now we have seen that Corbet at this time had no "father" living,‡ but he must have had someone who acted *in loco parentis*, so that this inaccuracy does not invalidate the story. But as Corbet went down at the very time when Johnson came up,§ it is evident that we cannot follow Hawkins here. Yet there must be some foundation for the story, as facts relating to such an obscure country gentleman as Andrew Corbet, who had died in 1741, must have come to Hawkins direct from Johnson himself or one of his early contemporaries.

Quite apart from the buttery books, another powerful argument against the traditional story of Johnson's Oxford career can be drawn from evidence which was not available to Croker, Fitzgerald, or Birkbeck Hill. The fact of his leaving his undergraduate library in the care of his friend John Taylor, of Christ Church,|| in itself points to a premature departure from College as also to an unrealised expectation that he would return later, when his health was re-established, or his funds augmented. And, as we now know that Taylor left Oxford in September 1730,¶ it is pretty clear that Johnson had himself left before that date, and also that he had not returned, else he would have claimed the books from John Spicer, into whose care they had passed.\*\* Whatever Johnson's condition on leaving College in December 1729, it at least did not prevent him from drawing up a very

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\* See *post*, Appendix J., p. 179.

† See *ante*, p. 22.

‡ See *ante*, p. 4.

§ See *post*, Appendix A., pp. 121-2.

|| See *ante*, p. 27.

¶ See *ante*, p. 27.

\*\* See *ante*, p. 28.

careful list of his books, unless, indeed, we imagine him to have taken them all up to Oxford with him in October 1728, and the list to have been made at that time. This is quite possible, for the list contains no book published after 1727.\*

In the previous chapter I have given all the evidence as to George Whitefield and Johnson's supposed claim to have been at College with him, which is quite negatived by our knowledge that the embryo preacher did not matriculate till November 1732.† A possible explanation suggests itself in the fact of there being actually in residence at Pembroke with Johnson two men, William Whitehead and Jeremiah Whitehouse, whose names were somewhat similar. They were not servitors, like Whitefield, but they were battellers,‡ and so in much the same category. Whitehead, too, was a Gloucestershire man, as was the preacher. It is quite likely that Johnson may have remembered Whitehead or Whitehouse, and afterwards, when Whitefield became famous, confused the names. There is a "snag" in this argument, however, for Whitefield's name seems to have been pronounced "Whitfield," and in the buttery books he first appears as "Georgius Whitfield," and afterwards as "Whitfield." But the point is such a puzzling one that the explanation is worth offering.

The fellows in regular residence during Johnson's time were William Adams,§ afterwards Master, John Cox, Thomas Goddard, William Jorden, then acting as Vicegerent, John Lockton, afterwards Vicar of Combe, Hants., John Ratcliff, afterwards Master, and Tipping Silvester, afterwards Vicar of Shabbington, Bucks. In less regular residence for the same period were William Blandy, John Husbands and William Le Marchant. All of them seem to have taken holy orders, except William Le Marchant, who was a lawyer. Adams and Ratcliff were no doubt men of capacity, and Husbands we know by his *Miscellany*; while Jorden has a special place in our affections for his qualities of character.|| But there is nothing to suggest that they

\* See *post*, Appendix K., p. 226 (under Pope's *Miscellanies*).

† See *ante*, p. 37.

‡ See *post*, Appendix J., pp. 211-12.

§ For particulars of all the members of the College mentioned from here onwards to the end of the chapter, see *post*, Appendix J., pp. 180-213.

|| See *ante*, p. 18.



were any of them men of special intellectual distinction : certainly none did more than achieve and occupy respectable office, while most of them scarcely got out of the rut of the average fellow who was glad enough in due course to exchange the shelter of the University for that of a country living.

When we come to investigate the careers of Johnson's fellow-undergraduates, we find an equal lack of anything approaching real distinction. Some of them are little more than names to us, but Walter Chapman, afterwards Prebendary of Bristol, who is said to have maintained friendship with Johnson throughout the whole of his life ; Oliver Edwards, the delightful old attorney whose naïve remarks have become so famous ;\* John Fludger and Philip Jones, who were his actual companions ; John Meeke, who excelled him at classics ;† and William Vyse, who, if he was the donor of the famous shoes, was well rewarded by a life of comfortable preferment, have some personal existence for us. Almost all the others whose careers have been traced became parsons—generally country parsons—of the most ordinary kind, such as William Crawley, Rector of Gravesend ; Edward Stephens Estcourt, Master of Sir Thomas Rich's Hospital at Gloucester ; John Fortune, Rector of Wickwar, in Gloucestershire ; Langton Freeman, the eccentric Vicar of Bilton, in Warwickshire ; Charles Godfray, Rector of St. John, Jersey ; John Hayward, Rector of Withington, in Gloucestershire ; Stephen Hoe Henshaw, Vicar of Chalgrave, in Bedfordshire ; Rowland Hunt, Rector of Stoke Doyle, in Northants., and doubly brother-in-law to William Adams ; Stephen Langham, Rector of Cottesbrooke, Northants. ; James Le Marchant, Rector of Longworth, Berkshire ; John Martin, Rector of Clifford Chambers, in Gloucestershire ; John Moseley, Vicar of Painswick, in the same county, whose ribald comments on the origins of a fellow-undergraduate still enliven the buttery books ; Thomas Salwey, Rector of Richards Castle, in Herefordshire, who appointed "one Giffard, a parson," as his curate ; Peter Sherwin, Chaplain of Magdalen ; and Edward Trimnell, Vicar of Little Abington, in Cambridge. Thomas Hulbert took up medicine, as did also William Weltden, who went on

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\* See *ante*, p. 23.

† See *ante*, p. 16.



to Cambridge for his degrees, while Benjamin Hyett, Nicholas Hyett, George Overman and Francis Wightwick were called to the Bar.

Much the same tale is to be told of those in residence who had already graduated B.A. John Conant became Rector of Hastingleigh, in Kent; John Darke, Vicar of Overbury and Ashchurch, in Worcestershire; Robert Fenton, who gains interest as nephew of Elijah Fenton, the poet, whose life Johnson wrote, became Perpetual Curate of Newcastle-under-Lyme; William Goodenough, Rector of Broughton Poggs, and father of the Bishop of Carlisle; Robert Parkes, who took orders but died in possession of his fellowship; John Parsons, who held some cure in Gloucestershire; Robert Stephens, Rector of Eastington, in Gloucestershire; Peter Daniel Tapin, Rector of St. Helier's, in his own island of Jersey; William Tristram, Vicar of Weedon, Northants., whose brother Thomas edited Vida's *Art of Poetry*; Curteis Wightwick, Rector of Bonnington, Kent; and John Wightwick, Rector of St. Paul's, Shadwell.

A few of the undergraduates were heirs to property or sons of rich men, like Thomas Crawley, whose father had inherited Flaxley Abbey, in Gloucestershire, from the "Perverse Widow" Boevey, and taken her name, as the son had also to do; or Nicholas Hyett, who became of Painswick House, in the same county; or Jonathan, only son of Sir Jemmett Raymond, of Oxford; or James Hallett, whose father of the same names was Lord of the Manor of Dunmow and son to Sir James Hallett, an eminent London goldsmith. James Hallett, who preceded Johnson at Pembroke by nearly six months, as a gentleman-commoner, and was in regular residence while Johnson was up, has a special interest for us, for his mother was a daughter of Sir Ambrose Crowley, the great ironmaster, and niece of the half-blood to Judith Crowley, who had married Johnson's cousin, that interesting spendthrift "Parson" Cornelius Ford, in 1724, and in all probability entertained him at Pedmore in 1725 and 1726.\* It is hard to doubt that, if Johnson did not know of this connexion with Hallett before he went to Pembroke, he would find it out in some way when he was there. The Crowleys had been family friends of the Fords at Stourbridge from before the date of the marriage,† and as "Parson"

\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 151.

† *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 169.

Ford and his wife were both alive at this time (even if not living together) it seems extremely likely that two young men in the same College, with a common connexion of this kind, would be made aware of it. It is true that one was a gentleman-commoner and the other only a commoner; but the same distinction existed between James Hallett himself and his younger brother Ambrose. It is also true that Hallett had enjoyed a very different upbringing from Johnson, and that probably they had little in common, but these are arguments only against intimacy. We know that Johnson was well acquainted with the fame of the Crowleys.\*

Several members of the College who had been in residence with Johnson lived lives of such length as to survive him. Johnson died on 13 December 1784, whereas Rowland Hunt did not die until 18 September 1785, Matthew Bloxam until 21 August 1786, William Adams until 13 January 1789, Oliver Edwards until January 1791, John

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\* This is shown by a reference in 1773, in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 79), where he is refuting the arguments of those who would suppress wholesale trade, middlemen, etc.:—"If Crowley had sold only what he could make, and all his smiths had wrought their own iron with their own hammers, he would have lived on less, and they would have sold their work for more. The salaries of superintendents and clerks would have been partly saved, and partly shared, and nails been sometimes cheaper by a farthing in a hundred. But then if the smith could not have found an immediate purchaser, he must have deserted his anvil; if there had by accident at any time been more sellers than buyers, the workmen must have reduced their profit to nothing, by underselling one another; and as no great stock could have been in any hand, no sudden demand of large quantities could have been answered, and the builder must have stood still till the nailer could supply him." In the third of Swift's "Drapier's Letters," dated 25 Aug. 1724, we read how William Wood, of Wood's Ha'pence fame, "asserted that he was forced to tally with his labourers for want of small money (which hath often been practised in England by Sir Ambrose Crowley and others) but those who knew him better give a different reason," etc., etc. (*Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott, VI., 75). Another Crowley reference that may be added to those I have previously printed is in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1731, p. 170, in some verses entitled "Bath Beauties":—

"Crowley with all the goods of fortune blest,  
 "Of every virtue of the soul possest;  
 "None can repine at the decrees of Heav'n,  
 "When wealth to bounteous hands is largely giv'n.  
 "Pleas'd she obeys the almighty's great command  
 "And scatters blessings thro' an hungry land."

This cannot refer to one of Sir Ambrose Crowley's daughters, who were all married, but to his daughter-in-law, Mrs. John Crowley (*ante*, III, 152). Several others of the "Bath Beauties" here celebrated were married women.

Hayward until 15 February 1791, Walter Chapman until 25 April 1791, and John Moseley until Oct. 1794. All of these men probably knew the facts of Johnson's college career and could have put Hawkins and others of the early biographers straight in regard to them, though only one, John Moseley, could have seen Boswell's *Life* in print. There was another man who no doubt could also have given us the truth, and that was Johnson's first cousin, the Rev. Samuel Ford, though he was some eight years his junior and did not enter Oxford till 1736 :\* he did not die till 1793 and must have been eccentric indeed if he had not sufficient curiosity to read Boswell's account of his great kinsman, in which I have shown he was mentioned, though not by name.†

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\* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 44-7 ; IV., 89.

† See *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 Sept. 1924, p. 577.

## CHAPTER V.

## UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER LEAVING OXFORD

*Unsuccessful application for ushership at Stourbridge—His letter to Gregory Hickman important from its date—The Hickman family and its connexion with Johnson—His lines "To Miss Hickman, Playing on the Spinnet"—Mrs. Gregory Hickman's cousin marries "Clarissa" Richardson's daughter—Johnson lives at home while unemployed—Loses his father—A review of Michael Johnson's career : the reasons for his non-success—Johnson's mother not an inspiration to her husband—The "Sprig of Myrtle" verses : their date and their recipient—Meeting with William Inge, the "gentleman of great eminence in Staffordshire"—Hearne, the diarist, on Inge and his son.*

As already indicated,\* there is one thing which definitely proves Johnson's Oxford career, quite apart from the evidence of the buttery books, to have been shorter than Boswell believed, and that is the date of his first known letter, addressed to Gregory Hickman, which, because of its importance, I print here in full :—

Litchfield, Oct. 30, 1731.

SIR,

I have so long neglected to return you thanks for the favours and assistance I received from you at Stourbridge, that I am afraid you have now done expecting it. I can indeed make no apology, but by assuring you, that this delay, whatever was the cause of it, proceeded neither from forgetfulness, disrespect, nor ingratitude. Time has not made the sense of obligation less warm, nor the thanks I return less sincere. But, while I am acknowledging one favour, I must beg another—that you would excuse the composition of the verses you desired. Be pleased to consider, that versifying against one's inclination is the most disagreeable thing in the world ; and that one's own disappointment is no inviting subject ; and that though the desire of gratifying you might have prevailed over my dislike of it, yet it proves, upon reflection, so barren, that, to attempt to write upon it, is to undertake to build without materials.

As I am yet unemployed, I hope you will, if any thing should offer, remember and recommend, Sir, your humble Servant,

SAML. JOHNSON.†

\* See *ante*, p. 33.

† *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 1 ; and *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 149.



This letter was written three years and five days after the date under which Johnson's name first appears in the buttery books of Pembroke College; and three years less one day after he was really entered.\* But it is clear he had been seeking employment for many weeks before writing the letter, which thanks Gregory Hickman "for the favours and assistance I received from you at Stourbridge," and apologises for having "so long neglected" his elementary duty. Every expression in the letter emphasises the length of time that had elapsed since his visit. "Time has not made the sense of obligation less warm, nor the thanks I return less sincere," gives the impression that the period had run into months rather than weeks. And his final "as I am yet unemployed," shows that he had been all the time seeking work without finding it, with Lichfield no doubt as his base of operations.†

When this letter was first printed, in 1813, it was said to have been written "on the occasion of the writer's being rejected on his application for the situation of Usher to the Grammar School at Stourbridge."‡ Its contents fully support such an explanation. Gregory Hickman, a great-nephew of Henry Hickman the controversial writer, was doubly connected with Johnson: his sister, Jane Hickman, had married Johnson's uncle, Nathaniel Ford, in 1701, while their mother, another Jane, after the death of her first husband, Gregory Hickman the elder, had married Johnson's uncle, Dr. Joseph Ford, for her second husband.§ As a man of high position in the town, he would be able to bring influence to bear in his young relative's favour, though in this case it was not successful. When Johnson was at school at Stourbridge, in 1726, Gregory Hickman was living in his house, Green Close, next door but one to the school, so that they were already well acquainted.||

We cannot be certain that Gregory Hickman was still living at Green Close when Johnson thus visited Stourbridge in 1731, for by

\* See *ante*, pp. 5-6.

† His old schoolmistress, Dame Oliver, died at Lichfield a few days after this letter was written, being burd. at St. Chad's on 6 Nov. 1731, so he may have attended her funeral (*Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, I., 30).

‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 150.

§ *Ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXIX; also *post*, Appendix O., p. 259.

|| *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 157-8.

1733 he had removed to Wollaston Hall, on the outskirts of the town, where he kept his "chariot."\* But there can be little doubt that this was the occasion when Johnson wrote the well-known lines, "To Miss Hickman, Playing on the Spinnet."† Miss Hickman was Dorothy, only child of Gregory Hickman, by Dorothy his first wife,‡ daughter of Walter Moseley, a former High Sheriff of Staffordshire. She was now in her eighteenth year, and a more suitable object for amorous address than when Johnson had, as a schoolboy, known her five years before.§ Moreover, the letter is evidence that her father had been impressed by some poetical effort of Johnson's, and had requested the composition of some verses, from which Johnson had asked to be excused, as "one's own disappointment is no inviting subject." It seems extraordinary if Gregory Hickman really expected him to write "Verses inspired by an Unsuccessful Application for the Post of Usher at Stourbridge School," but that is what we gather.||

When the pair met on this occasion, if it was after 22 August, there was one occurrence which they must have discussed with serious interest—the death in London, on that date, of "Parson" Ford, Johnson's cousin and Gregory Hickman's half-brother, who had sacrificed the possibility of a distinguished career to the more immediate pleasures of easy conviviality.¶ Gregory Hickman's second wife, Elizabeth Law, whom he married in 1723,\*\* must have already become well-known to Johnson while he was at Stourbridge School in

\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 116, 150.

† *Ibid.*, p. 149. This poem is printed direct from the original MS. in R. B. Adam's *Johnsonian Collection Catalogue*, privately printed, 1921.

‡ Her brother, Acton Moseley, mar. Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Herbert Croft, 1<sup>st</sup> bart. (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Moseley of Buildwas"), and great-aunt of Sir Herbert Croft [1751-1816], 5<sup>th</sup> bart., whose life of Young Johnson included in his *Lives of the Poets* (Burke's *Peerage*, under Croft; and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

§ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 149-50; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 157-8. Dorothy afterwards married Dr. John Turton, and had for son a more distinguished physician of the same names, who attended Goldsmith in his last illness.

|| *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 150.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-68, 274-6; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 144-51.

\*\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 158. The eldest child of Gregory Hickman and Elizabeth Law, Edward Hickman [1724-1802], whom Johnson no doubt knew as an infant, was father of Dr. Gregory Hickman [1766-1816], of Burslem, who about 1800 engaged Francis Barber's son as a servant (*ante*, II., 87-90).

1726. Niece to John Bridgen, M.A., who had in 1728 been appointed Professor of Divinity at Gresham College, London—where Johnson thought the professors “contrived to have no scholars,” because they would gain nothing financially by them\*—her most interesting connexion was to come many years later. Writing to Baretti on 20 July 1762, recounting the news, Johnson says :—“Mr. Richardson is dead of an apoplexy, and his second daughter has married a merchant.”† “Mr. Richardson” was, of course, the author of *Clarissa*, and his “second daughter” was Martha or “Patty,” his amanuensis, who, on 24 April 1762, nearly ten months after her father’s death, married “a merchant” in the person of Edward Bridgen, F.R.S., F.S.A., of Paternoster Row. Edward Bridgen was nephew to John Bridgen, and first cousin to Mrs. Gregory Hickman, so that it is possible to extend, through the Hickmans, a slender thread of kinship between the great lexicographer and his friend the novelist. There is no evidence to show whether Johnson actually met Edward Bridgen, who was a man of literary and antiquarian interests, though probably he did. It is extremely likely that he met Edward’s sister Jane, wife of Harry Bennett, for she had been, in the words of Anna Seward, who also knew her, “the long intimate friend of Richardson.” If Johnson really did encounter what Anna called “the Ciceronian eloquence” of Mrs. Bennett, who “wrote verses with the terse neatness, humour and gaiety of Swift,” they would be pretty sure to discover, even if only by their provincial accents, that they came from the same part of the country, and had common connexions in the Hickmans of Stourbridge.‡

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\* Birkbeck Hill’s *Boswell*, III., 13.

† *Ibid.*, I., 370.

‡ For a full account of the Bridgens, who belonged to Bridgnorth in Shropshire, see a long series of articles entitled, “Samuel Richardson and His Family Circle,” contributed by me to *Notes and Queries* in 1922-3. The actual articles dealing with the Bridgens are at 12<sup>th</sup> Series, XI., 506-8; XII., 6-8, 410-11, and 446-7. At the last reference, in my account of Mrs. Bennett, I failed to note that Anna Seward’s epitaph on her is printed in *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, ed. Walter Scott, II., 187-8, where it is stated that she died Sept. 1792, aged 73. A footnote mentions her friendship with Richardson, “which, beginning in her youth, continued till his death. Her destiny was uncommon as her merit. Deserted by her husband before she was sixteen, she knew not, through the remainder of her days, whether she was a wife, or widow.” This tale would put her “desertion” about 1735, but her uncle John Bridgen, as late



I have already examined Hawkins's statement that Johnson, when he left Oxford, returned to his father's house at Lichfield, but found himself nearly crowded out by the maiden sisters of "Parson" Ford, who had been taken in to board after their brother's death in August 1731.\* The letter to Gregory Hickman confirms at least that Johnson was at Lichfield two months after his cousin's death; and in this connexion it should be noted that the Misses Ford were half-sisters of Gregory Hickman. Hawkins's further statement can now be quoted :—

As Johnson's stay at the university was not long enough for him to complete his studies, it is natural to suppose, that at his return to Lichfield, he devoted his time to the improvement of them, and that having no call from thence, he continued there till the death of his father, which, as he has noted it, was in the month of December 1731.†

Side by side with this we can place Boswell's parallel paragraph :—

And now (I had almost said *poor*) Samuel Johnson returned to his native city, destitute, and not knowing how he should gain even a decent livelihood. His father's misfortunes in trade rendered him unable to support his son; and for some time there appeared no means by which he could maintain himself. In the December of this year his father died.‡

Michael Johnson was buried at St. Michael's, Lichfield, on 7 December 1731,§ only five weeks after his son's letter to Gregory Hickman. He was in his seventy-fifth year, so that when we consider what a busy and troubled life he had had,|| we need not seek for any very specific illness as the cause of his death, though Mrs. Piozzi ascribes it, on Johnson's authority, to "an inflammatory fever."¶ That Samuel was with him at the end, there seems every reason to expect; for his statement in 1767, when their old maid Catherine

as 1759, knew that she was not a widow, for he described her then in his will as "wife of Harry Bennett of the Train of Artillery in Scotland." So here we seem to have another of Miss Seward's many romances.

\* See *ante*, p. 40.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 20.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 79-80.

§ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 200.

|| *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 89-102.

¶ And gives his age as 76 (Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1786, p. 7).



Chambers lay dying, that she had "buried my father,"\* cannot exclude him from having been present, any more than it can his mother and brother Nathaniel. The Misses Ford had evacuated their rooms in the house, for, as we have seen, they were described as of Wolverhampton a month before.†

Viewed as a whole, Michael Johnson's life seems rather a sad one. Starting out with energy and superior intelligence, and evidently possessed of considerable business resource, he early made headway in his trade and won a good reputation as a bookseller throughout the Midland counties. But he does not seem to have been able to follow up his first success. He was weak on the financial side, and when he married he chose a wife without sufficient intelligence or strength of character to counteract this deficiency. So his business, not being placed upon a sound basis, after a time ceased to develop, and eventually no doubt dwindled considerably, especially as old age began to tell on him, when such strenuous travelling round the neighbouring towns as he had engaged in during middle life would become out of the question. His action in embarking upon the manufacture of parchment is evidence of a certain enterprise, yet such a business, to a greater extent even than bookselling, would fail to prosper in the hands of a man who kept no accounts.‡

If in his worldly circumstances Michael Johnson did not even reach security, in the deeper affairs of life he was not much more fortunate. The frustration of his marriage to Mary Neild, just when he was establishing himself in business, must have been a heavy blow to him, whatever the cause.§ And when he did eventually marry, he did not gain an ideal haven in which to shelter himself during his later years. Mrs. Johnson, though an excellent woman in a narrow and uninspiring way, never cheerfully accepted her lot as wife to a man of slender and uncertain means. Hers was not the quiet sympathy and courage which might have braced Michael to battle more successfully with adverse circumstances. Rather did she adopt a constant attitude of querulous complaint, which did nothing but exasperate her husband and undermine the peace of the household.||

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\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 43.

† See *ante*, p. 41.

‡ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 10, 26-8, 89-102.

§ *Ibid.*, III., 9-10.

|| *Ibid.*, III., 101-3.

We can hardly wonder, then, that Michael Johnson, with ambition that had never been gratified, and with pride for which he had failed to build a pedestal, should have been inclined to melancholy and often appeared weary of life. "A general sensation of gloomy wretchedness"\* perhaps never possesses a normally constituted person, however numerous his troubles; but a lugubrious attitude of mind surprises us less in him with whom nothing prospers. It is strange to recollect that Michael Johnson never lived to see his son achieve greatness, and that he is unlikely even vaguely to have imagined that the personality of the awkward youth who bid fair to be still less successful than his father would to future ages seem almost to dominate the literary history of the eighteenth century. Still less can he have foreseen, as he sat at his counter, gloomily brooding over his misfortunes, that at a date when many of his eminent contemporaries were to be forgotten, men would still care to know something of the old Lichfield bookseller, and would make his modest shop in the Market Square a place of pilgrimage from all parts of the English-speaking world.

There are one or two Johnsonian items that we can attach to 1731, before we pass on to the definitely post-Oxford period. The "Verses to a Lady, on receiving from her a Sprig of Myrtle," were positively ascribed to this year by Edmund Hector, who said that they had been written by Johnson for Mr. Morgan Graves, who had been presented with a "branch" of myrtle by a lady in the Birmingham neighbourhood. Miss Seward asserted that they were addressed to Lucy Porter, but I have shown by an examination of dates that this is extremely improbable. Moreover, Miss Seward is as bad a witness as could be found,† who in this case too was speaking from hearsay only of events that happened years before her birth, whereas Hector tells us that he himself acted as intermediary between Morgan Graves and Johnson to procure the verses,‡ the original manuscript of which,

\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 100.

† See ante, p. 68.

‡ Hector's account is corroborated by Mrs. Piozzi's version of the story. "I think," said Johnson to her, "it is now just forty years ago that a young fellow had a sprig of myrtle given him by a girl he courted, and asked me to write him some verses that he might present her in return. I promised, but forgot; and when he called for his lines at the time agreed on—Sit still a moment (says I), dear Mund, and I'll fetch them thee—so stepped aside for five minutes, and wrote the nonsense you now keep such a stir about" (*Piozzi's Anecdotes of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1786, p. 34). Perhaps Johnson himself had forgotten that the lines were not for "Mund" [Edmund Hector] himself, but for his friend.

dated 1731, was in his possession when he wrote in 1794.\* Morgan Graves, a Gloucestershire man, matriculated from University College on 10 May 1727, aged 18, so that, although he appears to have taken no degree, he may still have been in residence when Johnson came up to Oxford in the following year. His better-known brother, Richard Graves, author of *The Spiritual Quixote*, matriculated from Pembroke, where their father had been, on 7 November 1732,† the same day as George Whitefield.‡

Then again, there is the incident of his meeting William Inge, of which we learn in his life of Ambrose Philips :—

He had great sensibility of censure, if judgement may be made by a single story which I heard long ago from Mr. Ing, a gentleman of great eminence in Staffordshire. " Philips," said he, " was once at table when I asked him, How came thy king of Epirus to drive oxen, and to say ' I'm goaded on by love ? ' After which question he never spoke again."§

In a letter to Mrs. Thrale, of 13 August 1783, he identifies the anecdotist more particularly :—

Mrs. Ing is, I think, a baronet's daughter, of an ancient house in Staffordshire. Of her husband's father, mention is made in the life of Ambrose Philips.||

This " Mrs. Ing " (Johnson spelt the name as he knew it should be pronounced) was Henrietta, daughter of Sir John Wrottesley, 4th baronet of Wrottesley in Staffordshire.¶ Her husband, Theodore William Inge, who died of small-pox in 1753, was son and heir of William Inge, of Thorpe Constantine, who was therefore Johnson's " man of great eminence in Staffordshire." As a matter of fact we know from other sources that he had an enquiring mind and educated tastes. That untiring diarist, Thomas Hearne, knew him well and under 22 June 1732 has the following entry :—

My late friend William Inge of Thorpe Constantine in Staffordshire, Esq., hath been dead almost a year, as I was informed from that place by his son Theodore William Inge, Esq., lately gentleman commoner of Brazenose Coll.

\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 19-20.

† *Ibid.*, I., 19-20 ; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

‡ See ante, p. 37.

§ *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 323-4.

|| *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 325.

¶ She lived until 12 Sept. 1790 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1790, p. 864).



in a letter dated the 18th inst. The father was a curious Gentleman in the Saxon Tongue and in our Antiquities, the son otherwise, contrary to his father's design.\*

Now Hearne's information is correct : William Inge had been buried at Thorpe Constantine on 3 July 1731. So that Johnson's meeting with him must have been before that date. Thorpe Constantine is only some nine miles due east of Lichfield ; but whether Johnson had occasion to visit him there, or whether the meeting took place, say, under Mr. Walmesley's hospitable roof, we can only surmise. Mr. Inge's acquaintance with Ambrose Philips arose from the fact that he married the poet's first cousin—Elizabeth, elder daughter and co-heir of Robert Philips, of Newton Regis, High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1680—and acquired through her a very valuable property in Birmingham.†

Theodore William Inge, the gentleman-commoner of Brasenose, whose tastes disappointed his father, matriculated on 22 May 1729,‡ so that Johnson, then in steady residence at Pembroke,§ may have met him at Oxford. It is interesting to note that Thomas Pennant, the traveller, of whom we read a good deal in Boswell's pages, married Theodore's niece and William's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Falconer, whose niece again, a younger Elizabeth Falconer, married the Rev. John Batteridge Pearson, Lucy Porter's friend and principal legatee.||

\* *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXXII., 72. There is a short account of William Inge in Shaw's *Staffordshire*, I., 406.

† For a friend engaged on a biography of Ambrose Philips I worked out—shortly after my demobilisation in 1919—a very full history of his family, which has not yet seen the light. And see *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 60.

‡ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

§ See Appendix H., pp. 158-9.

|| See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 14. Elizabeth Inge, dau. of William, in 1734 mard. James Falconer, R.N., and had a dau. Elizabeth Falconer, who mard. Thomas Pennant in 1759, and a son, the Rev. James Falconer, D.D., Archdeacon of Derby and Prebendary of Lichfield, whose dau. Elizabeth in 1787 mard. the Rev. J. B. Pearson.



## CHAPTER VI.

## AN USHER AT MARKET BOSWORTH

*His father's impoverished estate—A cash payment of £20 thereout—When did he first go to Market Bosworth?—Whether ever under Anthony Blackwall—The Rev. John Kilby headmaster during Johnson's ushership of 1732—Miseries as an usher—The length of his service—Writes to tell Taylor of his leaving Bosworth—"Mr. Corbett" and "Mr. Vernon"—Sir Wolstan Dixie's violence as evidenced in a lawsuit—"The Battle of Bosworth": Sir Wolstan versus the tinker—Taylor vouches for the baronet's brutality—Johnson "a kind of domestick chaplain" to Sir Wolstan, and probably lived in his house—Influences that took him to Bosworth—The Dixies connected with Andrew Corbet—Bosworth's interests sporting rather than intellectual.*

WE have now definitely passed even the traditional period of Johnson's stay at Oxford. After his father's death, we must presume that he stayed on at home for some time, helping to settle matters so that his mother, and his brother Nathaniel, then only just nineteen,\* could carry on the business. Michael's affairs were probably not in a very healthy condition. The fact that he was not able to fulfil the condition of the marriage settlement of 1706, that he should pay the sum of £100 to the Trustees within nine months, shows how little available capital he ever possessed; indeed when he eventually discharged his obligation, in 1725, it was only by settling his house on his wife and children.† When he died, the house probably represented almost the whole of the family fortune, and his undertaking in the marriage settlement, that his personal estate at the time of his death should be of the clear value of £500,‡ was not fulfilled.§ The

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\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, Tabular Pedigree XXIX.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 48-9.

‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 172.

§ Dr. Birkbeck Hill utilized some letters among the Johnson MSS. at Pembroke College to throw light on the affairs of Michael Johnson's widow. But I have shown that these letters refer to the widow of the Rev. Anthony Johnson, of Swarkeston, co. Derby, who is not known to have been even distantly related to Michael (*Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 171-2).

settlement provided that his widow was to have the use of his stock-in-trade until her death.\*

There is no record of Michael Johnson having left a will, or of letters of administration of his estate having been taken out. "The state of poverty in which he died," says Boswell, "appears from a note in one of Johnson's little diaries of the following year, which strongly displays his spirit and virtuous dignity of mind":—

1732, Julii 15. *Undecim aureos deposui, quo die quicquid ante matris funus (quod serum sit precor) de paternis bonis sperari licet, viginti scilicet libras, accepi. Usque adeo mihi fortuna fingenda est. Interea, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, nec in flagitia egestas abigat, cavendum.* — I layed by eleven guineas on this day, when I received twenty pounds, being all that I have reason to hope for out of my father's effects, previous to the death of my mother; an event which I pray GOD may be very remote. I now therefore see that I must make my own fortune. Meanwhile, let me take care that the powers of my mind may not be debilitated by poverty, and that indigence do not force me into any criminal act.†

The fact of Johnson receiving only £20 from his father's estate at this time certainly suggests poverty. But it is not actual proof, for if no administration was taken out the settlement must have been merely a family arrangement. However, even so, it would probably be on the lines that the law laid down at that time, in which case the widow would take one third of the personal estate and the children two thirds equally between them. This would imply that Michael's personal estate was of the value of £60 only, and so perhaps hardly worth the cost of taking out administration.‡ The house and stock, as we have just seen, were settled on the widow for life, so that the sons were entitled to no share of their value till her death.

Hawkins also gives the diary extract, but under the date of 15 "June" 1732.§ However, as Boswell seems to have had access, like Hawkins, to the original entry, and seems, too, at some pains to correct minor errors in Hawkins's version of it, as well as to supply

\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 172.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 80.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. W. Lyon Blease, Professor of Law in the University of Liverpool, for explaining to me the law in force in 1731, as contained in two Acts of Parliament, "The Statutes of Distribution," 22 and 23 Car. II., c. 10, and section 7 of 1 Jac. II., c. 17.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 21.

what he considered evidently a better translation, we may reasonably take it that Boswell's date represents a quiet correction of Hawkins. This links the entry rather more dramatically with another quoted by Boswell, though he does not himself place them in conjunction :—

In the forlorn state of his circumstances, he accepted of an offer to be employed as usher in the school of Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, to which it appears, from one of his little fragments of a diary, that he went on foot, on the 16th of July.—“ *Julii 16. Bosworthiam pedes petii.*”\*

It has often been assumed, what indeed Boswell evidently intended to imply, that on 16 July 1732 Johnson went to Market Bosworth, for the first time, to commence his duties there. But here we must lend an ear to Hawkins :—

Being thus bereft of the little support his father was able to afford him, and having, not only a profession, but the means of subsistence to seek, he, in the month of March 1732, accepted of an invitation to the office of under-master or usher of a free grammar-school, at Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, founded and endowed by Sir Wolstan Dixie, lord mayor of London in 1586, the upper master whereof was the reverend Anthony Blackwall, the author of a well-known book on the sacred classics.†

In Hawkins's second edition, revised and corrected, also of 1787, the last sentence was thus amended :—“ the upper master whereof had been the reverend Anthony Blackwall, the author of a well-known book on the sacred classics, but was now a Mr. Crompton, a man of far inferior abilities.”

Hawkins would hardly have specifically mentioned the month of March as that in which Johnson took up his appointment, unless he had some evidence to go upon, which in this case was probably also a diary entry to which Boswell may not have had access. And Hawkins's chronology agrees with other statements, and with an important date, of which we shall learn presently,‡ which Boswell's does not, though, continuing his story, he essays to correct the chronology of others :—

But it is not true, as has been erroneously related, that he was assistant to the famous Anthony Blackwall, whose merit has been honoured by the testimony

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 84.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 20.

‡ See *post*, p. 80.



of Bishop Hurd, who was his scholar; for Mr. Blackwall died on the 8th of April, 1730,\* more than a year before Johnson left the University.†

The Rev. William Shaw, who wrote briefly and without much encumbrance from dates, had stated that, while at Market Bosworth, "by the example and advice, probably of his friend and master, Anthony Blackwall, he formed the plan of establishing an academy of his own."‡ Hawkins, as we have just seen, corrected his own statement of Johnson having been under Blackwall, and substituted Mr. Crompton as master at that time. Nichols tells us that when he was writing an account of Hinckley, in his *History of Leicestershire*, "Dr. Johnson had contributed several hints towards the life of Anthony Blackwall, to whom, when very young, he had been some time an usher at Market Bosworth-school."§ Nichols is such a good witness, as a trained recorder of facts and as having known Johnson intimately in his old age,|| that his statement demands serious attention. It is true that he can be countered by his own remarks elsewhere, that "in July 1732, the celebrated Moralist Dr. Johnson had so little prospect of his future elevation in life, that he occupied the office of usher to Mr. Crumpton at Bosworth school,"¶ and that "Johnson was

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\* See his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The Subscription Books at the Archdeaconry Office at Leicester state that Anthony Blackwell, clerk, was admitted school master at Market Bosworth, and sworn before John Kilby, surrogate, on 16 July 1723. The Market Bosworth registers record the burial of "the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Blackwall, Master of the Schoole," on 10 Apl. 1730 (inf. of Mr. A. W. Read). Further information of him can be gleaned from "Hearne's Collections" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXVII, 279, 295, LXXII, 356, 363), where his convivial habits are stressed; and from B. Tachella's *Derby School Register*, 1902, pp. xi, 7, 10, 11, 14, 18. The will of Anthony Blackwall, of Market Bosworth, clerk, dated 8 June 1728, was proved 16 Feb. 1730/1, in P.C.C. [Isham 25], by the exors., his children John, Matthias and Mary Blackwall. Leasehold tenements in par. of St. Peter's, Derby, in ten. of Widow Carrington, to children John, Matthias and Mary Blackwall. To son Henry Blackwall, £100; son John, £200; dau. Mary, £250; son Matthias, £200. To son Robert, £50 or interest thereof, as exors. shall think best for comfort and advantage of this their most unfortunate and miserable brother. All books, printed and MS., to sons Henry, John and Matthias, and dau. Mary, to sell to best advantage if they so desire. Wits., Wm. Mundy, Cha. Hart., Jeff. Tilecot.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 84. Malone pointed out that it was the Rev. William Budworth, head master of the grammar school at Brewood, whom Bishop Hurd praised. See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 332-7, and VI., 468-70.

‡ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1785, p. 21.

§ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, II., 551.

|| *Ibid.*, II., 550.

¶ Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 500.



a short time usher to Mr. Crompton, the successor of Mr. Blackwall.”\* One way of reconciling these several statements would be to assume that some time during the years 1726 to 1728, when he had that serious break in his formal education,† he went to Market Bosworth as an usher—this would justify Nichols’s description of him as “very young” at the time. But unfortunately, as Nichols himself tells us, Blackwall, who had interrupted his headmastership of Market Bosworth school in 1726 to become rector of Clapham, did not return until “early in 1729.”‡ So the only possibility is the very small one that Johnson, after leaving Oxford in December 1729, was an usher at Market Bosworth for a short period before 8 April 1730, the date of Blackwall’s death.

Dr. Westby-Gibson, who had himself been under-master of Bosworth School, in his life of Anthony Blackwall contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while recognizing the significance of the dates last quoted as limiting the length of their direct association, accepts as a fact that Johnson served under Blackwall. And he proceeds to surmise that “after the master’s death, the usher may have continued to teach, and when we study Johnson’s history, and read of his going on foot to the school in a forlorn state of circumstances on 16 July 1732, that can only refer to his last attendance at Bosworth, probably at the close of the summer holidays.” “We may conclude,” sums up Dr. Westby-Gibson, “he taught in the school for two and a half years, of which only a few months were under Blackwall.”

Whether we believe or not that Johnson was ever Blackwall’s usher, we can at least controvert Dr. Westby-Gibson’s general conclusion. For Johnson was indisputably out of employment for a considerable time in 1731, when he was seeking an ushership at Stourbridge School,§ and all the evidence points to his having spent several months at home then, if not longer. So that he cannot possibly have given unbroken service at Market Bosworth as suggested.

It is a little amusing, after reading Hawkins’s corrected statement that it was not under Blackwall that Johnson served but under

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\* Nichols’s *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 334.

† See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 164-81.

‡ Nichols’s *Literary Anecdotes*, I., 132-3.

§ See ante, p. 64.

his successor Mr. Crompton,\* backed up as it is by two of Nichols's remarks to the same effect,† to find that Crompton was not Blackwall's immediate successor at all. In a detailed appendix I have recounted the investigations which have proved that Blackwall was succeeded on 28 Sept. 1730 by the Rev. John Kilby, M.A., and that it was only after Kilby's death in August 1734 that the mastership of Market Bosworth school was offered to Crompton, in a personal letter from Sir Wolstan Dixie of 31 December 1734, and accepted by him immediately as presumably a better appointment than that he held of master of Solihull School.‡ The amount of error that has darkened, until now, the whole problem of Johnson's connexion with Market Bosworth school, and with its masters, is truly astonishing.

It was, therefore, under John Kilby that Johnson served as usher at Market Bosworth in 1732. Son of Joseph Kilby, a cordwainer in Leicester, he was born in that town in 1667, and entered Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1685, taking his B.A. degree in 1689. In this same year he was admitted under-master at Leicester Free School, next year taking orders. From 1701 to 1729 he was Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester, succeeding Blackwall at Market Bosworth, as above stated, in the following year, and also holding the vicarage of Knighton.§ This discovery as to Johnson's association with Kilby has more interest than that of a bare fact, for it explains to us his ability to quote to Nichols some comments on Styan Thirlby, made by "the Rev. Mr. Kilby of Leicester," under whom Thirlby had studied at Leicester Free School.||

The period of his schoolmastering at Bosworth is known to have been perhaps the most miserable of Johnson's whole career. Thus Boswell :—

This employment was very irksome to him in every respect, and he complained grievously of it in his letters to his friend Mr. Hector, who was now settled as a surgeon at Birmingham. The letters are lost ; but Mr. Hector recollects his writing "that the poet had described the dull sameness of his existence in these words, '*Vitam continet una dies*' (one day contains the whole of my life) ; that it was unvaried as the note of the cuckow ; and that he did not know whether it was more disagreeable for him to teach, or the boys to learn, the grammar rules." His general aversion to this painful drudgery was greatly enhanced by a disagreement between him and Sir Wolstan Dixey, the patron of

\* See *ante*, p. 75.

† See *ante*, pp. 76-7.

‡ See Appendix L., pp. 230-37.

§ See Appendix L., p. 236.

|| See Appendix L., p. 234.

the school, in whose house, I have been told, he officiated as a kind of domestick chaplain, so far, at least, as to say grace at table, but was treated with what he represented as intolerable harshness ; and, after suffering for a few months such complicated misery, he relinquished a situation which all his life afterwards he recollected with the strongest aversion and even a degree of horror.\*

It is interesting to go back to Boswell's notebook for the original of this paragraph :—

After leaving Oxford Mr. Johnson lived at home. Then as Miss Porter informed me he got the school of Bosworth. He was very unhappy there with Sir Woolston Dixey an abandoned brutal rascal. Dr. Taylor told me this & said Dr. Johnson did not like to recollect that dissagreeable period of his life. That he said to him, it was uneasy to him to see that side of the town (I suppose of Ashburn) which leads to Bosworth. That he could not bear the horrid disgust of that state, & threw up the school.†

Hawkins's account is as follows :—

The patron of this seminary was Sir Wolstan Dixie, baronet, a descendant of the original founder ; and the endowment being very small, Johnson's residence was in the mansion-house of Sir Wolstan adjacent thereto ; but the treatment he received from this person, who, in the pride of wealth, shewed no regard for learning or parts, nor respected any man for his mental endowments, was such that, preferring the chance of the wide world to his patronage, Johnson, in the month of July, in the same year in which he went to Bosworth, resigned his office, and took leave of a place, which he could never after speak of but in terms of the utmost dislike, and even of abhorrence.‡

It is amusing to notice that the last portion of this sentence has simply been paraphrased by Boswell, who must have been nodding at the time.

We have seen that Johnson walked from Lichfield to Bosworth on 16 July 1732.§ We shall presently learn that he had returned to Lichfield, and was already seeking other employment, by 27 July 1732, eleven days later.¶ If, therefore, we followed Boswell in believing that this walk to Bosworth preceded initiation into his duties there,¶ we should be compelled to the conclusion that the " complicated misery "

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 84-5.

† *Boswell's Note Book*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1925, p. 10.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 20-21.

§ See *ante*, p. 75.

¶ See *post*, p. 80.

¶ See *ante*, p. 75.



he endured was compressed into, at most, a week or ten days.\* But this is absurd ; and Boswell himself speaks of him " suffering for a few months."† William Shaw tells us that Johnson left Oxford for an ushership at Market Bosworth, which " laborious capacity he sustained much longer than was expected by any who knew him."‡ It is abundantly clear that this dark episode in his career was one of some length, and we are fully justified in accepting Hawkins's definition of the term as from March to June [July] of 1732, especially as the terminal date has been proved approximately correct.

Mr. Algernon Gissing, who in 1922 made a pious pilgrimage, on foot, in the steps of the young usher, on his twenty-five mile tramp from Lichfield to Market Bosworth, very reasonably connects Johnson's acquisition of cash the day before with the sudden ending of the appointment. " Possibly the jingling of that twenty pounds in his pocket§ had inspired the courage to throw off the intolerable bondage, or gave the sudden impulse to it on his arrival at the school."|| However, whether the decision to leave was made before or after the tramp, it quickly took effect. Long ago Malone's footnote told us of this :—

It appears from a letter of Johnson's to a friend, which I have read, dated Lichfield, July 27, 1732, that he had left Sir Wolstan Dixie's house, recently before that letter was written. He then had hopes of succeeding either as master or usher, in the school of Ashburne.¶

The letter which Malone saw is now in the possession of that prince among Johnsonian collectors, Mr. R. B. Adam, of Buffalo, who has printed it in his " Catalogue " :—

To Mr. Taylor.

Lichfield, July 27, 1732.

DEAR SIR

I received a Letter last Night from Mr. Corbett, who informs me of a Vacancy at Ashburne, I have no suspicion of any endeavours being wanting on your Part to contribute to my success, and therefore do not ask for your

\* Even if we accepted Hawkins's date for the walk, of 15 June 1732 (*ante*, p. 74), and applied it to Boswell's story, it would still leave too little time.

† See *ante*, p. 79.

‡ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1785, p. 19.

§ Pedants might suggest that he had not £20 " in his pocket," as £11-11-0 had been " layed by " (see *ante*, p. 74).

|| *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1924, pp. 7-8.

¶ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 9th ed., ed. Malone, 1822, I., 53.



interest with the exactest Ceremony. I have sent this Messenger with letters to Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Corbett. Be pleased to favour me with your Opinion of the means most proper to be used in this Matter. If there be any occasion for my coming to Ashburne, I shall readily do it. Mr. Corbett has, I suppose, given you an account of my leaving Sir . . . . . \* was really *e carcere exire*.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your humble Servant

SAM: JOHNSON.

To Mr. Taylor  
Present.†

This letter, of course, was written to his old schoolfellow, and college friend, John Taylor, as yet a country attorney at Ashburne,‡ and suggests that it was some days at least since he had left Bosworth, otherwise "Mr. Corbett" could not have known of it. The identity of "Mr. Corbett" is somewhat of a puzzle. We naturally think of Andrew Corbet, the schoolfellow at Lichfield of Johnson and Taylor, but as the recipients of Johnson's letters were evidently persons living near Ashburne, and with local influence, this identification seems doubtful, as Andrew was a Shropshire squire. It is, however, to be noted that Andrew's sister Eleanora Corbet, had some years before married Rupert Browne, of Hungry Bentley, only about six miles from Ashburne, so that at least he had local connexions, and might have been temporarily in the neighbourhood, as might also his younger brother, John Corbet.§ "Mr. Vernon" was probably George Venables Vernon [1708-80], created first Baron Vernon in 1762,|| whose seat was at Sudbury, where the "messenger" could have delivered his letter on the way from Lichfield to Ashburne. Mr. Vernon was at this time member for Lichfield, and his mother, Anne Piggott, belonged to a Shropshire family connected with the Corbets.¶

\* Paper torn here. See *post*, p. 85.

† *Catalogue of R. B. Adam's Johnsonian Collection*, privately printed, 1921. I have also had the advantage of a copy of the letter sent me by Mr. Adam.

‡ See *ante*, p. 28. "Johannes Taylor, *generosus*, de Ashbourn in Alto Pecco," had mard. his first wife, Elizabeth Webb, at Croxall, on 9 Apl. 1732 (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IX., 58; *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 274).

§ See Appendix A., pp. 120-21.

|| G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*.

¶ See Appendix A., p. 123.

Sir Wolstan Dixie, whose name has been preserved in such an unpleasant connexion, was at this time a young man of about thirty, and as yet unmarried. In 1713 he had succeeded his father, another Sir Wolstan—than whom Pope, in 1710, had “not met with a better-bred or better-natured gentleman”—as fourth baronet.\* There is evidence from other sources to support Johnson’s censure of him. In *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for December 1735 (p. 735), in some appalling doggerel entitled “Ralph Rhymer’s Chronicle,” occur the following lines, in reference to the Old Bailey session of 15 December :—

A Knight’s Lady’s† Woman of *Leicestershire*,  
 For Stealing old Clothes, at the Bar did appear,  
 And his Butler, for stealing some Perquisites too,  
 But they both were acquitted as taking their due.  
 Their Indictments then were deliver’d unto ’em  
 Which the Audience wish’d, some Service might do ’em.

It appears from a paragraph of the following June (1736, p. 354), which refers us back to these lines, that the “Knight” was Sir Wolstan Dixie. On 10 June 1736, before Chief Justice Hardwicke, an action was tried in which Mrs. Elizabeth Barker‡ sued Sir Wolstan for £5000 damages for false imprisonment and a charge of robbery, of which she had been acquitted after trial at the Old Bailey. A special jury, after a seven hours’ hearing, gave a verdict of five shillings for the plaintiff, and, being sent back by the Chief Justice, returned in half an hour with their verdict unchanged. On 1 July following, Mrs. Elizabeth Barker moved before the Court of the King’s Bench for a new trial, which however was refused, “after many learned Arguments by Sir Woolston Dixie’s Council” (*ibid.*, p. 421).

Lord Hardwicke, it appears, made notes of considerable length on the case of Mrs. Elizabeth Barker *versus* Sir Wolstan Dixie. Paul Whitehead, the satirist, at this time a young man in the middle

\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 21.

† A few months earlier, on 1 May 1735, Sir Wolstan had mard. his first wife, Anna (“with 20,000l.”!), dau. of Tobias Freer, Governor of Barbadoes. She died in July 1739 (Nichols’s *Leicestershire*, IV., 498, 507).

‡ Her death had been reported as having occurred on 22 Feb. :—“Mrs. *Eliz. Barker*, of an Illness she had contracted in *Newgate*, on a Prosecution of her Master, a Baronet of *Leicestershire*, of which being honourably acquitted, and a Copy of her Indictment granted, she had brought an Action of 1000l Damages” (*Gent.’s Mag.*, 1736, Feb., p. 112). But it was contradicted next month, p. 170.

twenties, gave evidence that he had attended Mrs. Barker's trial for felony, and had heard Sir Wolstan say to a witness, "in a sentence the commencement of which was adorned with epithets a good deal more vigorous than select, 'don't sew up your mouth, but swear boldly.' "\*"

Another case, arising out of the same trouble, of which Lord Hardwicke gives us information, was an action on 2 February 1737, where one Robert Nelson, a jeweller and a cutter and polisher of diamonds, sued Sir Wolstan Dixie for damages for using scandalous words and causing his house to be searched for stolen goods "without probable cause." Accompanied by "Mr. Dolly," a constable, and armed with a warrant from Sir William Billers, he had, according to the evidence of "Mrs." Nelson, the plaintiff's sister, which was corroborated by one William Reith, rushed into her chamber in her brother's house, on 29 November 1735, exclaiming,

where is that rogue your master, that cursed old thief, with Betty Barker; he has robbed me of 1600*l.*, & I will hang them both, by God; damn me if I don't, if it cost me 10000*l.*

Sir Wolstan pleaded not guilty, but there was a verdict for the plaintiff, who was awarded £5 damages for the verbal onslaught, and £100 for the entry and searching.†

Mrs. Piozzi relates an amusing tale of "a Derbyshire [*sic*] baronet, Sir Wolston Dixie," which must refer to our hero, as it brings him into conjunction with Caroline of Anspach, who was Queen from 1727 to her death in 1737. It appears that when Sir Wolstan was presented to her, she, having been duly coached, expressed her knowledge of his "connexion with Bosworth Field and the *memorable battle* fought there."

The gentleman's face, even redder than before, swelled with indignation, till at last he broke out with no very decorous vehemence of protestation, that all her Majesty had heard concerning it was false and groundless; and that he would find a way to make those repent who had filled the ears of his Sovereign with such gross untruths.

"God forgive my great sin!" exclaimed the astonished Queen, as Sir Wolstan fled the drawing room. The misunderstanding had been caused "by the baronet's utter ignorance of historic literature."

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\* George Harris's *Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke*, 1847, I., 340.

† *Ibid.*, I., 337-9.



He was a brutal fellow, and having assaulted a tinker some day crossing Bosworth Field, the tinker laid down his tools and beat him severely ; which his merry neighbours heard with pleasure, and called this luckless encounter, naturally enough, *The Battle of Bosworth* : while poor Sir Woolston, having never heard of any other contest in the place, except his own, made no doubt but that the Queen had heard of his disgrace, and took that opportunity to ridicule him for it.\*

All this evidence points to Sir Wolstan Dixie having really been an ignorant bully, with a violent temper and a flow of abusive language ; and to Johnson's hatred of being under such a man's control having a very good foundation. It must be remembered, too, that Boswell's description of Sir Wolstan as " an abandoned brutal rascal,"† came from Taylor, who knew him well and had been presented by him to the rectory of Market Bosworth in 1740.‡ We can well believe that he had no happier a touch with a poor scholar than he had with ladies' maids, butlers or diamond polishers.

There seems no doubt that Johnson, as Boswell tells us, " officiated as a kind of domestick chaplain " in Sir Wolstan's house.§ and that, in Hawkins's more precise words, his " residence was in the mansion-house."|| It is true that the statutes of the school, in 1630, laid down that

neither the said Master nor Usher [is] to have any benefice with cure or other charge, function or profession whatsoever that may let or hinder their services and attendance in the said school or duty of their places.

It is also true that under the statutes the usher, in addition to his salary of £20 a year, paid by the churchwardens in two instalments, was provided with a house in the garden, on the site of which a cottage now stands.¶ But we may be quite sure that if Sir Wolstan wanted Johnson to live in his house as a chaplain of sorts, the statutes of a school of which he was the principal trustee would not be allowed to

\* Abraham Hayward's *Autobiography, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1861, II., 103-4.

† See *ante*, p. 79.

‡ Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 502. At p. 500 Nichols says that there is a fine portrait of Sir Wolstan, whole length, at Bosworth Hall, and another showing him with all his children, both by Henry Pickering.

§ See *ante*, p. 79.

|| See *ante*, p. 79. " The endowment being very small," does not seem an adequate reason.

¶ Information of Mr. J. Ford Smith, the present headmaster.



stand in his way. The interesting letters discovered by Mr. A. W. Read disclose that when Sir Wolstan offered the same ushership to the Rev. Thomas Adderley, in 1733, he did so apparently quite off his own bat;\* and that when a year later he pressed the headmastership upon Crompton he claimed that it was solely in his own nomination.† And it is to be observed that the actual statute did not forbid other employment for the master and usher except as it interfered with their school duties. It could reasonably be argued that Johnson's service to Sir Wolstan did not interfere with his work in the school. But I think that Johnson's letter to Taylor, of 27 July 1732, clinches the matter, for he speaks not of leaving the school, but of leaving Sir Wolstan's,‡ and of it being like "*coming out of prison*," incidentally showing where the real trouble lay. Heartily as he hated the actual teaching in the school, for which he was physically and temperamentally disqualified, it was the degradation he suffered as a semi-menial in the splendid mansion of his rich and unsympathetic "patron"§ that finally, when circumstances permitted, spurred him to revolt. Bosworth Hall, dating from about 1700, still stands as it did in Johnson's time, in a fine park, and only a few minutes' walk from the school and church. The original school building, too, is little altered since Johnson's day, and the present headmaster says that he taught in the class room on the ground floor.

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\* See Appendix L., p. 235.

† See Appendix L., p. 233.

‡ See *ante*, p. 81. The words which are missing from the letter, owing to it having been torn, have been restored by Mr. Adam, in his *Catalogue*, as "[Wolstan Dixey. It]." But as there is no evidence bearing on the missing words except Malone's footnote (*ante*, p. 80), I think we are bound to follow it and to read the last sentence of the letter as follows:—"Mr. Corbett has, I suppose, given you an account of my leaving Sir [Wolstan's] house. It] was really *e carcere exire*." When Malone saw the letter it may have been intact. But it does not affect my argument much which way we read it.

§ In *Percival Stockdale's Memoirs*, 1809, II., 192-3, among his reminiscences of Johnson, is "an account of a connexion which *he* had, early in his life, with an opulent, and powerful family," who led him by their promises, and by their occasional displays of kindness, to form great expectations, which "*vanished into air*." Coolness was followed by actual rudeness; but he admitted frankly that they would have treated him much worse if they had realised that his own motives were purely selfish. In my copy of the *Memoirs* a former reader has identified them as "the Dixie family of Market Bosworth, Leicestershire," in a pencil note which probably belongs to the early nineteenth century; but the identification does not seem to me a very likely one.

It will have been noticed that Boswell and Hawkins agree in saying that Johnson "accepted of an offer,"\* or "accepted of an invitation,"† to become usher at Market Bosworth. The question therefore arises as to what personal influence was at work here, for even if the actual offer came from Sir Wolstan, in one of his short and businesslike letters, there must have been a previous recommendation of Johnson to the choleric baronet. And under the school statutes he should have been at least a Bachelor of Arts, as well as free from all infectious and contagious diseases, honest, virtuous and learned. However well he fulfilled the latter requirements, he certainly was not a Bachelor of Arts, so that the invitation must have been prompted by some one who knew him personally and appreciated his worth, which Sir Wolstan would appear to have been quite incapable of doing. Genealogy can supply one or two possible clues. In the first place, Sir Wolstan's brother, the Rev. Beaumont Dixie, who was Rector of Market Bosworth from 1729 till his death early in 1740, had on 7 November 1728 married Elizabeth, the elder of Andrew Corbet's sisters, and at Lichfield Cathedral too.‡ Then again, Sir Wolstan's great-aunt, Barbara Dixie, had taken a first husband in Richard Pyott, of Streethay, near Lichfield, uncle to that Richard Pyott who was a trustee under the marriage settlement of Michael Johnson and Sarah Ford.§ And yet again, though this belongs to a later date, Sir Wolstan himself, in 1741, married, for his second wife, Theodosia Wright, a first cousin of Johnson's dear friends, the Misses Aston.|| These marriages point to social relations between the Dixies and three families with which Johnson had definite associations, who may have used their influence with Sir Wolstan in Johnson's favour.

William Shaw tells us that, while at Bosworth, "all his leisure time was employed assiduously in the pursuit of intellectual acquisition and amusement";¶ and Boswell says "it is probable that at this

\* See *ante*, p. 75.

† See *ante*, p. 75.

‡ See Appendix A., p. 121. His successor as Rector of Market Bosworth was John Taylor (see *ante*, p. 81).

§ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 173. Barbara's second husband was Thomas Pochin, of Barkby, co. Leic. (*Nichols's Leicestershire*, IV., 506).

|| See Appendix M., pp. 244-5.

¶ *Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, p. 19.

period, whatever uneasiness he may have endured, he laid the foundation of much future eminence by application to his studies.”\*

Dr. Birkbeck Hill quoted Hutton of Birmingham to show that Bosworth was an almost inaccessible town with a brutalized population, suggesting that Sir Wolstan had modelled his manners on local custom. But Hutton visited it in 1770, and, according to Nichols, about 1730 it “was reckoned the genteelest part of the county,” and “was famous for the resort of the neighbouring gentry.” We should not look for the poor usher in the throng who “came regularly twice a week, for pleasure and amusement, to the bowling-green of Simon Oakden.”† Sport was probably their sole interest and topic; and the enlightened and cultured society Johnson had enjoyed at Lichfield‡ was consequently far to seek. It is strange to think that the greatest sportsman in the district—if not indeed in the England of his day—was Thomas Boothby, the celebrated fox-hunter, of Tooley Park, half-a-dozen miles away, whose second wife, dead some twenty years or more, had been the sister of Charles Skrymsher and so “very nearly related” to Johnson.§

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\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 85.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 21. If this was the Simon Oakden who died 19 Feb. 1778, aged 67, whose wife Elizabeth died 2 May 1743, and wife Louisa on 28 June 1767, aged 49 (Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 504), he cannot have been “mine host” quite so early as 1730.

‡ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 171-7.

§ *Ibid.*, III., 19-26.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GOES TO BIRMINGHAM AT HECTOR'S INVITATION

*Ashburne rejects his application for an ushership—An account of the vacancy that attracted him—Death of Claudius Phillips, the musician whose epitaph he revised—The Phillips monument at Wolverhampton—A buried account of Phillips—Johnson invited by Hector to his lodgings at Birmingham—Previous associations with the town—Thomas Warren, the printer, and his "Birmingham Journal"—Johnson moves to independent lodgings—The chronology of the Birmingham stay—Translates "Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia" for Warren—"Melancholy indisposition"—"Jarvis," with whom he lodged—Early friendship with Taylor, the great Birmingham industrialist—First acquaintance with Harry Porter and his wife—Legacy from his godfather, Richard Wakefield—Returns to Lichfield—Proposes an edition of Politian's poems—Borrows "Politian" from Pembroke College, through a local clergyman—A puzzling entry in his diary—Probable spells as a bookseller's assistant—Death of Harry Porter—Johnson courts the widow.*

WE have seen that, when Johnson left Bosworth, he returned straight to his mother's house at Lichfield, no doubt "footing it" once again, as he would have to do on such a cross-country journey, unless he were prepared to hire. And on the night of 26 July 1732 he received a letter from "Mr. Corbett," informing him "of a vacancy at Ashburne." Next day he wrote a reply to Mr. Corbett's letter, and sent it off at once by messenger, with letters also to "Mr. Vernon" and his friend Taylor.\* What the "vacancy" was there can be no doubt. Only about a week before the date of Johnson's letter there had died William Hardestee,† who had been usher at Ashburne Grammar School since 1713; and the Rev. Samuel Burnett, who had been headmaster as long, required a successor to him. That Johnson

\* See *ante*, pp. 80-81.

† "Mr. William Hardisty of Ashbourne" was burd. at the parish church on 23 July 1732. Information of Dr. Ernest A. Sadler, himself a Governor of the School, who occupies "The Mansion," where Johnson stayed so often with his friend Dr. Taylor. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Sadler, who highly values the Johnsonian traditions of his home, for very full and careful extracts from the school minutes, and for other help.



was not successful in his application can be inferred from the fact of his biographers making no mention of it; and the following extract from the school minutes makes such inference unnecessary :—

Wee whose names are hereunto Subscribed being Governors and Assistants of the Free Gramar School of Elizabeth Late Queen of England in the Town of Ashborne in the County of Derby do hereby nominate elect and choose Mr. Thomas Bourne of Leeke in the County of Stafford to be Usher or Under School Master of the said Free Gramar School in the Room and Stead of Mr. William Hardestie late Under-schoolmaster there and lately Dec<sup>d</sup>. Witness our hands the First Day of August One Thousand Seven Hundred Thirty and two. FRA. SLEIGH, JO. HAYNE, JO. ALSOPP, BROOKE BOOTHBY, WM. BENT, THUR. DALE, EDWD. SLEIGH, JNO. KIRKLAND, FRA. HIGGINBOTHAM, SAML. LEEKE, ANTH. OLDHAM, JOHN TOMPSON, JOHN MELLER, JOHN BERESFORD.

The governing body consisted of three full governors and twelve assistants,\* so it will be seen that all were present with one exception—an unusually full meeting to keep out poor Samuel Johnson in favour of Thomas Bourne. It is curious to find among them Brooke Boothby,† brother of Miss Hill Boothby, afterwards the dear friend of Johnson. Neither Taylor himself,‡ nor “Mr. Corbett,” nor “Mr. Vernon” were governors.

Thomas Bourne's victory was not a very substantial one, for he relinquished the post almost immediately,§ and on 25 September 1732

\* The three Governors were present, Francis Sleigh, John Hayne, and John Alsopp. The missing assistant, Dr. Sadler thinks, was Phil. Fernihough, appointed in 1724.

† Afterwards Sir Brooke Boothby, 5th bart. He had only been appointed an assistant in 1731. He was a Governor from 1733.

‡ Taylor was not appointed an assistant until 8 Jany. 1768; he became a full Governor on the resignation of Brooke Boothby in 1773. His signature shows him to have been a pretty regular attendant at the meetings until his death in 1788.

§ Apparently he never took up his duties, for a minute of 12 Feb. 1732/3 authorizes the payment of the balance of the usher's half-yearly salary to Mr. Burnett for “teaching the Ushers boys from the death of the s<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Hardistie to Micha<sup>s</sup>. last.” The amount of the usher's salary does not appear in the minutes, as he and the headmaster only got what was left after the working expenses of the school were paid. An earlier William “Hardesty” had been master of Ashburne School 1677-1712 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). His successor, Samuel Burnett, son of Samuel “Burnap,” citizen and cloth-worker of Wapping, London, was a “Grecian” at Christ's Hospital, and admitted a sizar at Trinity, Camb., on 1 July 1703, aged 18; became a scholar 1704, B.A. 1706/7, M.A. 1710; Master of Ashburne School 1713-51 (*ibid.*). Burnett died in 1751, and Soutter in 1752. Writing to Mrs. Okeover, of Okeover, where he was chaplain, the Rev. Jeremiah Kitching, on 6 June 1752, reports :—“..... the Usher of Ashbourne free school is dead Mr. Souter” (*William Salt Arch. Soc.*, “Staffordshire Collections,” N.S., VII., 113).

Job Sowter, of Nottingham, was appointed usher in his stead, which suggests that Johnson had not been even "in the running." It does not appear that Bourne was a University graduate,\* so that the want of a degree cannot have militated against the success of Johnson's candidature. Had he gone to Ashburne he would have been not far from his father's birthplace at Great Cubley.†

We have no record of Johnson in 1732 and probably he spent some more depressing months at home. We may here wonder whether he was previously acquainted with Phillips, the musician, who died in that year. In Anna Williams's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, published in 1766, is printed (p. 23) "An Epitaph on Claudy Phillips, a Musician":—

Phillips ! whose touch harmonious could remove  
The pangs of guilty pow'r, and hapless love,  
Rest here distrest by poverty no more,  
Find here that calm thou gav'st so oft before ;  
Sleep undisturb'd within this peaceful shrine,  
Till angels wake thee with a note like thine.

Readers of Boswell are aware that he ascribes the authorship of this "exquisitely beautiful" epitaph to Johnson, on the authority of Garrick, who related how he incited his friend to their extempore composition by quoting some "common-place funereal lines" which Dr. Richard Wilkes, a distinguished physician at Wolverhampton,‡ had composed§ for a mural tablet which is still to be seen high up on the west wall of the south porch of St. Peter's parish church at Wolverhampton:—

Near this Place lies | Charles Claudius Phillips | Whose absolute Contempt  
of Riches | and inimitable Performances upon the Violin | made him the Ad-  
miration of all that knew him | He was born in Wales, | Made the Tour of  
Europe, | and after the Experience of both Kinds of Fortune | Died in 1732.

Exalted Soul thy various Sounds could please :  
The love sick Virgin and the Gouty ease :  
Could jarring Crowds like old Amphion move :

\* He does not appear in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, or Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 3.

‡ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 148-9. See also *ibid.*, II., 25.

To beauteous Order and harmonious love :  
 Here rest in Peace till Angels bid thee rise :  
 And join thy Saviours Consort in the Skies.\*

Immediately under this tablet another stone has been inserted, thus inscribed :—

The epitaph above written by Dr. Wilkes, | Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was | rendered by Dr. Samuel Johnson, as follows :

Phillips, whose touch harmonious could remove  
 The pangs of guilty power or hapless love :  
 Rest here, distressed by poverty no more,  
 Here find that calm thou gav'st so oft before :  
 Sleep, undisturbed, within this peaceful shrine,  
 Till angels wake thee with a note like thine.

Johnson's version was first published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, p. 464, as "An epitaph upon the celebrated Claudy Philips, Musician, who died very poor," over the signature "G." When Garrick recited Wilkes's poem to Johnson, he evidently did so from memory.† On 29 August 1773, writing to Garrick from Inverness, Boswell asked the actor for "the bad verses which led him to make his fine ones on Philips the musician,"‡ but Garrick had evidently still to rely upon his memory to supply them, for, as printed by Boswell, there are several departures from the original.

Whether Garrick, or Johnson himself, or both of them, called Phillips by the familiar name of "Claudy," we do not know, but it is evidence of personal knowledge, and perhaps even of personal acquaintance. Buried in the appendix to a county history is an interesting account of Phillips, which appears to have been overlooked :—

Charles Claudius Phillips, the musician, or (as he was familiarly called) Claudy Phillips, seems to have been a man of considerable genius, not without some of those excentricities which oftentimes accompany it. About twenty years ago, it was fresh in the recollection of the more antient housekeepers at Wolverhampton, that he used to traverse the county of Stafford when they were young, sometimes dressed in laced clothes, and at other times apparently under the pressure of great distress, according to the fluctuating state of his circumstances.

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\* This inscription is given in Shaw's *Staffordshire*, II., 161, but I am indebted to Mr. Cecil Tildesley for this exact copy from the original, and of the later inscription below.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 148.

‡ *Ibid.*, V., 348.

It would now be almost impossible to appreciate his real merits with exactness. From the report of those who were best acquainted with the science, he appears to have possessed a rapidity of execution unrivalled in those days ; but his *forte* was certainly a *wild and plaintive melody*, dictated by the immediate impulse of his own mind, and subject to no rules of studied composition whatever. When his finances were low, he used to make his voluntary appearance on evenings at the principal inns or public-houses, with his instrument ; and after exerting his talents for the amusement of the company, was satisfied with such a contribution as the generosity of the moment might happen to supply.

Soon after his death a handsome marble tablet was erected by subscription to his memory, with the above epitaph by Dr. Wilkes. The following however, which has been attributed to Johnson, and since (erroneously) to David Garrick, is highly worthy of being preserved, as well for its intrinsic excellence, as furnishing some additional proof of the sense then entertained of his uncommon abilities.\* [*verse follows*].

We can scarcely doubt after reading this, that both Johnson and Garrick must have known Phillips, who in his perambulations of Staffordshire would certainly visit Lichfield. He evidently enjoyed considerable local reputation, and was esteemed, for no ordinary fiddler would have been rewarded with a monument placed in a church by public subscription. Possibly the fact that he had "seen better days" made him a more romantic figure. It would be interesting to know his Welsh origins, and under whose auspices, and when, he had "made the tour of Europe." Even his age is not revealed. Shaw wrote about 1800, so that it would have been quite possible for old householders of Wolverhampton, about 1780, to have remembered this strange and pathetic figure. The entry of his burial, in the register of St. Peter's, under 20 October 1732, is simply "Claudius Phillips."†

We last heard of Johnson in July 1732, when he made unsuccessful application for the post of usher at Ashburne Grammar School.‡ It was probably towards the end of the year, after some more months of "idleness" at home, that he made his next move, as recorded by Boswell :—

Being now again totally unoccupied, he was invited by Mr. Hector to pass some time with him at Birmingham, as his guest, at the house of Mr. Warren, with whom Mr. Hector lodged and boarded. Mr. Warren was the first established

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\* Shaw's *Staffordshire*, II., Appendix, p. 18.

† Information of Mr. Cecil Tildesley.

‡ See *ante*, p. 88.



bookseller in Birmingham, and was very attentive to Johnson, who he soon found could be of much service to him in his trade, by his knowledge of literature ; and he even obtained the assistance of his pen in furnishing some numbers of a periodical Essay printed in the news-paper, of which Warren was proprietor. After very diligent inquiry, I have not been able to recover those early specimens of that particular mode of writing by which Johnson afterwards so greatly distinguished himself.\*

Edmund Hector, his greatest friend at school, though a year or two his senior,† had qualified as a surgeon and settled at Birmingham about 1731,‡ where he was to live for over sixty years. Warren, the printer, with whom he lodged and boarded, had in 1731 taken a house near the High Street, "against the Swan Tavern," but in 1732 he removed to a house immediately opposite in the High Street. It would be in this latter house that Hector was lodging when he asked Johnson to join him.§ The house where Michael's brother, Andrew Johnson, had carried on business as a bookseller, till his death in 1729, was not far away ; while the house of John Harrison, the disagreeable uncle with whom Johnson had stayed for the Whitsuntide holidays of 1719, was almost as close in the other direction.|| So he was amid very familiar surroundings. Andrew Johnson's widow was rated for the former house in 1732,¶ so may perhaps have been living in it still, and John Harrison, whose will was lodged for probate on 27 June 1733,\*\* was probably yet in the flesh.

It was, no doubt, Hector's association with Warren that made him think of inviting Johnson to Birmingham, so as to give the poor and unemployed scholar the chance of profiting by acquaintance at close quarters with a prosperous bookseller and printer. Thomas Warren had been in business in Birmingham certainly since 1727,††

\* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 85.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 125.

‡ Hill and Dent's *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], 1897, p. 25.

§ Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 40, 108.

|| *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 106-8.

¶ Information of late Joseph Hill.

\*\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 195.

†† Considerable effort has been made by Warren's descendant, Mr. T. A. Carless Attwood, F.S.A., and by myself, to trace his parentage, but without success. He died in Sept. 1767, "greatly advanced in years," and was burd. at St. Philip's, Birmingham, on 28 Sept. No will, or admon. of his estate, has been found. He might conceivably have been Thomas, son of Mr. Warren, who was bapt. 8 Sept. 1676 at St. Martin's,

and was already showing himself a man of enterprise, engaging in printing as well as bookselling. As Boswell has told us, he very soon found Johnson's great knowledge and scholarship of use to him. "The news-paper, of which Warren was proprietor,"\* was *The Birmingham Journal*. It must have been started in November 1732,† just about the time that the invitation came to Johnson from Hector, who no doubt thought his friend would be able to assist in giving the paper some literary distinction. Boswell's regret, that he had been unable to trace any of the periodical essays which Johnson contributed to its pages, we can share, for only one copy of the paper is known to

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Birmingham ; but there was a Thomas Warren, of Birmingham, whose widow Abigail's will, dated 21 Apl. 1722, was proved 29 Oct. 1728 in P.C.C. (Brooke 310). This Thomas and Abigail left a son John, and another son, Edward Warren, of Dunhead St. Mary, Wilts., whose will, dated 11 Dec. 1736, was proved 17 May 1737, and again 13 Feb. 1739/40, in P.C.C. (Wake 124). There is nothing to connect this family with the bookseller, of whom nothing seems known earlier than 1727, from which date to 1730 his shop was in Mercers (or Spicers) Street (Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 39). His son Thomas Warren was bapt. 3 May 1728 at St. Martin's, and mard. 27 Sept. 1750 Mary, dau. and sole heir of Joseph Spooner, of Birmingham, maltster ; she died 1 Dec. 1779, aged 56, and he in 1814, at Castle Bromwich, where he is burd., having had issue, (1) Joseph Spooner Warren [1751-1805], who had no issue, (2) John Warren [1754-57], (3) Thomas Warren [1757-1812], who left a son, the Rev. Thomas Warren [1793 ?-1874], the last of the family, and (1) Hannah Warren [1752-1818], wife of Thomas Smallwood, from whom Mr. Attwood descends. Thomas Warren the first did not start actual printing before 1731, though previously he had acted as local agent or "publisher" of several books. He was a man of enterprise and ability, who deserved success, but association with Lewis Paul and John Wyatt in their cotton-spinning invention proved his financial undoing. "Tho. Warren, of Birmingham, Warwick, Bookseller," figures in the list of bankrupts in *Gent.'s Mag.* for Feb. 1743, p. 107. Some of his correspondence is preserved in the Free Library at Birmingham. He is mentioned in Johnson's letters to Lewis Paul, of 31 Jan. 1740/1, and 31 Mch. 1741 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 6, 9), and in his letters to Hector of 15 Apl. 1755 ("I have not lost all my kindness for him"), and 8 Dec. 1765 (*ibid.*, I., 41-2, 125). Particulars of his trade activities can be further gleaned from Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*. Thomas Warren, the younger, was brought up a printer, but turned auctioneer. In a Prayer Book printed at Cambridge in 1760, by Baskerville, Mr. Attwood tells me, is the following inscription :—"This book was presented to Hannah Smallwood, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1797, by her beloved father, Thomas Warren, under whose sole care and direction it was printed. Doctor Caryll, then Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, after an attentive perusal of it, did him the honour to write him a polite note saying, he had done what he thought had never been effected before, 'he had published a Book without one literal error.'" Thomas Warren the third was also an auctioneer, and his son, the final Thomas, a nonconformist minister. For the possible connexion with the Welsh Warrens, see *post*, pp. 107-8.

\* See *ante*, p. 93.

† Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 41.

exist, No. 28, that for Monday, 21 May, 1733. Previous issues had been on the Thursday of each week, so that the subscribers had just endured a wait of eleven instead of seven days for their news sheet.\*

A volume of *Sermons*, by the late Rev. Edward Brodhurst, a minister of the Old Meeting, in Birmingham,† was printed by Warren in 1733. Joseph Hill sees Johnson's hand in the preface; and it is easy to believe him correct.‡

Boswell thus goes on with the story:—

He continued to live as Mr. Hector's guest for about six months, and then hired lodgings in another part of the town, finding himself as well situated at Birmingham as he supposed he could be any where, while he had no settled plan of life, and very scanty means of subsistence. He made some valuable acquaintances there, amongst whom were Mr. Porter, a mercer, whose widow he afterwards married, and Mr. Taylor, who by his ingenuity in mechanical inventions, and his success in trade, acquired an immense fortune. But the comfort of being near Mr. Hector, his old school-fellow and intimate friend, was Johnson's chief inducement to continue here.§

Hawkins seems to have known nothing of Johnson's stay with Hector, or of his connexions with Warren, and after his account of the Market Bosworth experience proceeds as follows:—

In the month of June in the following year, 1733, I find him resident in the house of a person named Jarvis, at Birmingham, where, as he has noted in his diary, he rendered into English from the French, a voyage to Abyssinia, which has since appeared to be that of Padre Jerome Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, with the addition of Mons. l'Abbé Le Grand, . . . . . ||

Though Boswell was too proud to use it, I accept Hawkins's date without question, founded as it is on one of Johnson's clearly very fitful diary entries. A few definite dates are an immense assistance when we go groping our way through dark periods of biography—indeed we clutch at them like drowning men—and the despised

\* Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, plate facing p. 41.

† The will of Edward Broadhurst, of Birmingham, clerk, dated 9 July 1729, with a codicil of 11 July 1729, was proved 15 June 1731 at Lichfield: it mentions his wife Jane, and his children, Mary, Ann and Elizabeth [bapt. 2 Apl. 1726 at St. Martin's, Birmingham]. The inventory of his goods, totalling £616-12-2, is noteworthy for this item:—"Books in the study, £130": he must have had a remarkably good library for a country cleric.

‡ Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 41, 43, 45-6.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 85-6.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 21-2. At p. 32 Hawkins gives the year as 1734, but I take that to be a mere slip.



Hawkins has several times come to our aid in this way. Taking June as approximately the time when Johnson left Warren's house, and accepting Boswell's statement that he had stayed there "about six months," we are led to the conclusion that he had left Lichfield for Birmingham towards the end of 1732, a date that, as we have seen, fits in admirably with the evidence that, after leaving Market Bosworth in July 1732, he was for a time "totally unoccupied."\*

It was while in these lodgings, as Hawkins has just told us, that Johnson performed his first definite literary work, as to the circumstances of which Boswell, fortified with Mr. Hector's reminiscences, supplies more detailed particulars :—

In what manner he employed his pen at this period, or whether he derived from it any pecuniary advantage, I have not been able to ascertain. He probably got a little money from Mr. Warren ; and we are certain, that he executed here one piece of literary labour, of which Mr. Hector has favoured me with a minute account. Having mentioned that he had read at Pembroke College a Voyage to Abyssinia, by Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, and that he thought an abridgment and translation of it from the French into English might be an useful and profitable publication, Mr. Warren and Mr. Hector joined in urging him to undertake it. He accordingly agreed ; and the book not being to be found in Birmingham, he borrowed it of Pembroke College.† A part of the work being very soon done, one Osborn, who was Mr. Warren's printer, was set to work with what was ready, and Johnson engaged to supply the press with copy as it should be wanted ; but his constitutional indolence soon prevailed, and the work was at a stand. Mr. Hector, who knew that a motive of humanity would be the most prevailing argument with his friend, went to Johnson, and represented to him, that the printer could have no other employment till this undertaking was finished, and that the poor man and his family were suffering. Johnson upon this exerted the powers of his mind, though his body was relaxed. He lay in bed with the book, which was a quarto, before him, and dictated while Hector wrote. Mr. Hector carried the sheets to the press, and corrected almost all the proof sheets, very few of which were even seen by Johnson. In this manner, with the aid of Mr. Hector's active friendship, the book was completed, and was published in 1735, with LONDON upon the title-page, though it was in reality printed at Birmingham, a device too common with provincial publishers. For this work he had from Mr. Warren only the sum of five guineas.‡

The "constitutional indolence" which led Johnson to lie in bed at this time seems to have been really a return of his old enemy,

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\* See *ante*, p. 92.

† See *post*, p. 108.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 86-7.



melancholia. Over twenty years later, on 7 October 1756, he wrote to Hector that "that kind of melancholy indisposition which I had when we lived together at Birmingham" had ever since been "operating against my health and my life with more or less violence."\* Yet such was his affection for Hector that he had many happy memories of this time. "I was extremely pleased to find that you have not forgotten your old friend, who yet recollects the evenings which we have passed together at Warren's and the (? Swan)," he wrote to Hector on 15 April 1755.† As regards the sum of five guineas which he received for translating *Lobo*, it must be remembered that it would have represented a quarter's salary to the usher at Market Bosworth.‡

Hawkins, when he comes to deal with Johnson's marriage, suggests that, as his wife was born a "Jarvis," she was either a sister or other relation of the "Jarvis" with whom he went to lodge in 1733.§ But this is pure guess work, and there is no reason to suppose any such relationship, though there has been an inclination on the part of Malone,|| and others better informed,¶ to follow Hawkins in his conjecture. There had been Jarvises in the town for some time. Clement Fisher, of Birmingham, whose cousin Sarah Fisher married Johnson's uncle Andrew, the bookseller, had in 1702 married Ann, daughter of Richard Jarvis, a joiner in New Street.\*\* And there was a Samuel Jarvis living near the Upper Priory in 1730-33,†† the very period that concerns us.

The John Taylor whose acquaintance Boswell tells us Johnson made on this occasion,‡‡ was about eighteen months his junior, so can scarcely have advanced far as yet in his great career as a manufacturer, banker and benefactor to the town. But the active and ingenious mind that inspired him to experiment so successfully in the gilding

\* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 69.

† *Ibid.*, I., 41.

‡ See *ante*, p. 84.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 32-3.

|| *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Malone, 1822, I., 54.

¶ Hill and Dent's *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], 1897, p. 26; Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 41, 44.

\*\* *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 223.

†† Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 44.

‡‡ See *ante*, p. 95.

and japanning of metals,\* was no doubt fully evident, and drew him into the society of men whose activities were more purely intellectual. As late as 1765 Johnson spoke of Taylor as "my old friend," and asked Hector to give him his "kindest compliments."†

The question of when Johnson first met Harry Porter and his wife was, after Boswell's great work had been published, the subject of some discussion, as bearing upon the problem of to whom the "Verses to a Lady on receiving from her a Sprig of Myrtle," were addressed.‡ Miss Seward, who sacrificed whatever love of truth she possessed, now to an incurable romanticism and now to her numerous personal prejudices, asserted in 1793 that they were addressed to his future step-daughter, Lucy Porter,§ while Hector countered this with the definite statement that they were written in his presence in 1731, to oblige Mr. Morgan Graves,|| adding this in further disproof of Miss Seward :—

I most solemnly declare, at that time Johnson was an entire stranger to y<sup>e</sup> Porter family ; & it was almost two years after, that I introduced him to the acquaintance of Porter, whom I bought my Cloaths of.¶

\* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 124-5 ; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 86. VI., xlii ; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Taylor of Strensham." In *Letters, Written in July 1755, Upon a Journey thro' Bedfordshire* [etc.], from a Gentleman of London, to his Brother and Sister in Town, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1757. is (pp. 62-3) an account of Taylor's works, which the writer was informed "was the most worth a Stranger's Notice" in Birmingham. "We return'd from hence to the Town, and saw the Manufactory of Mr. Taylor, the most considerable Maker of Gilt-metal Buttons, and enamell'd Snuff-boxes : We were assured that he employs 500 Persons in those two Branches, and when we had seen his Workshop, we had no Scruple in believing it. The Multitude of Hands each Button goes thro' before it is sent to the Market, is likewise surprising ; you perhaps will think it incredible, when I tell you they go thro' 70 different Operations of 70 different Work-folks ; but so we were inform'd ; whether it be exactly true or not I cannot affirm ; the Number seemed to me uncountable ; tho' from what dwelt on my Memory afterwards, reflecting on what I had seen, I could not find so considerable a Deficiency as to raise a Doubt of the Truth of it." This "Gentleman of London," whose initials "R.P." are appended to each letter, was Mr. Resta Patching, a Quaker wine-merchant, of Pudding Lane, who died at his house in Peckham Rye on 20 May 1760.

† *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 124.

‡ See *ante*, p. 70.

§ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 345.

|| See *ante*, pp. 70-71.

¶ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 361 ; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, I., 19.

A portion of this letter is reproduced in facsimile in Roger Ingpen's illustrated edition of *Boswell's Johnson*, 1909, p. 38, from which I have corrected the extract given.

This declaration the Rev. Henry White,\* on behalf of his cousin Miss Seward, met by pointing out that Johnson's schoolmaster, the Rev. John Hunter,† who married Harry Porter's sister Lucy in 1726, always welcomed his old pupil to his house and table, and that there he had met not only Mrs. Hunter herself but also her niece Lucy Porter the younger.‡ This seems extremely probable, but Hector's clear and positive statement that Johnson did not know Harry Porter (and of course his wife) until he introduced them at Birmingham, in 1733, carries conviction, even if we allow Johnson to have met their young daughter previously in Lichfield; and to have been wrong in using the word "family."

At this time Harry Porter was living in High Street,§ not far from where Johnson and Hector lodged with Thomas Warren.|| He had occupied the same shop when Johnson stayed with his uncle John Harrison in 1719.¶

While Johnson was in lodgings in Birmingham, his godfather, Richard Wakefield,\*\* died, probably at Lichfield. In his will, dated 15 August and proved 28 September 1733, Wakefield, who was a generous benefactor to the poor of Lichfield and Tutbury, left £5 to his godson "Mr. Samuel Johnson,"†† only five shillings less than the young scholar received for translating *Lobo's Voyage*.‡‡

Hector, whose great affection for and outstanding kindness to Johnson is sufficiently evidenced by the bare facts of this stay in Birmingham, in 1734 took a house of his own in or near New Street, though he did not marry until 1740.§§

\* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, II., 84-5.

† *Ibid.*, III., 110-12.

‡ *Ibid.*, I. 19; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 362-3.

§ So I gather from Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 43, 44, where it is stated that Porter was rated for this house in 1734; see also *ibid.*, p. 108. But in *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], by the same author and Robert K. Dent, 1897, pp. 26, 109, we are told that he lived in Bull Street and that it was there Johnson made his acquaintance. In my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, 1906, p. 233, of course I went on this 1897 statement, but now presume that the 1907 one is in correction, though it is not stated so.

|| See ante, p. 93.

¶ Hill and Dent's *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], 1897, pp. 26-7.

\*\* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 55-6.

†† *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 227-8.

‡‡ See ante, p. 96.

§§ Hill and Dent's *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], 1897, pp. 26-7.



Hawkins does not conceal his ignorance of the conditions under which Johnson prepared his *Lobo* book :—

Having completed this translation, which I conjecture he was paid for by some bookseller of Birmingham, who published it in an octavo volume, Johnson, in February 1733-4, left that place, and returned to Lichfield, from whence, in the month of August following, he issued a proposal, soliciting a subscription to an edition of Politian's Poems, . . . . . \*

For the precise date of Johnson's return we thus again give thanks to Hawkins, though Boswell does not serve us badly on this occasion :—

Johnson returned to Lichfield early in 1734, and in August that year he made an attempt to procure some little subsistence by his pen ; for he published proposals for printing by subscription the Latin Poems of Politian : "*Angeli Politiani Poemata Latina, quibus, Notas cum historiâ Latinæ poeseos, à Petrarchæ ævo ad Politiani tempora deductâ, et vitâ Politiani fusiùs quam antehac enarratâ, addidit SAM JOHNSON.*"

It appears that his brother Nathanael had taken up his father's trade ; for it is mentioned that "subscriptions are taken in by the Editor, or N. Johnson, bookseller, of Lichfield." Notwithstanding the merit of Johnson, and the cheap price at which this work was offered, there were not subscribers enough to insure a sufficient sale ; so the work never appeared, and probably, never was executed. ‡

These "proposals" do not seem to have been traced by modern Johnson students, ‡ but their date is supported by a very interesting entry§ in the register of books borrowed from Pembroke College library :—

June 15, 1734. Borrow'd of Mr. Meek|| Librarian Angeli Politiani Opera, by y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Boyse¶ for y<sup>e</sup> Use of Mr. Johnson.\*\*

Witness, J. RATCLIFF, †† A. BLACKFORD. ††

\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 26. † Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 89-90.

‡ See for instance W.P. Courtney's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 2.

§ Kindly sent me by Mr. L. F. Powell. || See Appendix E., p. 139.

¶ Robert, son of Robert Boyse, of Wellesbourn, co. Warwick, *arm.*, matric. 6 Apl. 1709, aged 16, from Pembroke ; B.A. 1712 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). Outside the east end of Smethwick church, near Birmingham, is an altar tomb, enclosed with railings and thus inscribed :—"By his infant son, | Robert Boyce, | The first Minister of this Church, | And son of Robert Boyce, of Wellesbourne, Esq<sup>r</sup>., lies here. | Fervent in prayer, and in it constant too (*etc.*) | He died September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1759, aged 66. | Anne, his widow, died August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1772, aged 77." Smethwick living was created out of Harborne, 1727-32. Information of Rev. F. A. Homer.

\*\* Words in italics written in different ink, by another hand, perhaps that of Ratcliff, who was librarian a few months later.

†† Who later became Master ; see Appendix J., p. 203.

‡‡ Anthony, son of Anthony Blackford, of Lombard Street, M<sup>s</sup>sex., gent., matric. from Pembroke, 14 Mch. 1732/3, aged 17 ; B.A. 1736 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).



The space on the opposite page, left for the entry of the book's return, is blank, and the book is not now in the library. Some one, indeed, at a later date, has written "never returned," and some one else, later still, has crossed it out. A footnote of Hawkins's, which says that "few who lent him books ever saw them again," has much interest in this connexion, and certainly makes the case against Johnson very black :—

Among the books in his library, at the time of his decease, I found a very old and curious edition of the works of Politian, which appeared to belong to Pembroke college, Oxford. ¶ It was probably taken out of the library when he was preparing to publish a part of that author, viz. in 1734, and had been used as his own for upwards of fifty years.\*

The Rev. Robert Boyce, an old Pembrochian, had recently been appointed the first minister of Smethwick, on the western outskirts of Birmingham, and Johnson had no doubt made his acquaintance while staying in the neighbourhood; and, hearing of his impending visit to their old College, had asked him to borrow the volume on his, Johnson's, behalf. Perhaps it was this division of responsibility between them that led to the book not being returned.

In a footnote Boswell says more particularly of Johnson's proposed edition of Politian that "the book was to contain more than thirty sheets, the price to be two shillings and sixpence at the time of subscribing, and two shillings and sixpence at the delivery of a perfect book in quires."† Hawkins says definitely that "not meeting with sufficient encouragement, Johnson dropped the design."‡

At this very time we have his own evidence that constitutional slothfulness was still inclined to master him. In 1734 he began to keep a kind of diary, which he called *Annales*, where he noted down the events of each day, with moral reflections and resolutions. Hawkins gives us one of these entries :—

Friday, August 27<sup>th</sup>. (1734), 10 at night. This day I have trifled away, except that I have attended the school in the morning. I read to night in Rogers's sermons. § To night I began the breakfast law anew. ||

\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 445.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 90.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 27.

§ Dr. Birkbeck Hill suggests *Sermons at Boyle's Lectures*, 1727, by Rev. John Rogers, D.D.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 163. The "breakfast law" apparently remains unexplained by commentators—perhaps it is a mis-reading.

This entry raises another problem. What was the "school" he had attended in the morning? Apparently he was now at Lichfield, and we have no record of his doing any schoolmastering between the time of his leaving Market Bosworth in July 1732\* and his setting up school at Edial in 1736.† The entry, moreover, as seeming to take some credit for attendance, does not suggest that he was an usher, who would have had to attend in the afternoon as well except in the unlikely event of Friday having been a half-holiday.‡ Can he have been temporarily assisting at Lichfield Grammar School, or can he have already started some kind of school of his own?

We know that Johnson was not cut out for the work of a bookseller, though he boasted late in life of having been bred one, and of his having bound books with his own hand.§ Can we doubt, however, that during these years when he was so often out of definite employment, he would, as opportunity offered—or necessity compelled—assist in the shop at Lichfield, or in Warren's shop at Birmingham?

In August or September 1734 also occurred an event which was destined vitally to affect Johnson's life—the death of his friend Harry Porter, the Birmingham mercer or woollen draper,|| "whose widow

\* See *ante*, p. 79.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 97; Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 36.

‡ At Market Bosworth the half holidays were on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Holy Evens.

§ *Johnsonian Gleanings, ante*, III., 168-9.

|| The will of Harry Porter, of Birmingham, mercer, dated 22 May 1734, was proved 17 Sept. 1734 in P.C.C. (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 234). In the burials at St. Martin's, Birmingham, 1734, we find:—"Sept. 3 Harry Porter at Edgbaston C. 5<sup>th</sup>. Sept. 1734." The italicised portion is in a different handwriting, and perhaps records the giving of a certificate on 5 Sept. that decd. had been burd. in woollen, in accordance with the law. In the Edgbaston register we find the following entry:—"Henry Porter of Birmingham Burd. Aug<sup>st</sup>. 3." Much confusion centres round these entries (*ibid.*, p. 234; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 94; Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 44), and I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. W. Read for making a personal examination of both registers in the interests of accuracy. It is extremely difficult to decide which entry we should accept for the date. Presumably the Edgbaston one was the first made, the entry at St. Martin's being only derived from a return by Edgbaston, and this would incline us to accept 3 Aug. as the date of burial; but against this we have *Sept.* repeated at St. Martin's in the supplementary entry. The dates of the two next Edgbaston burials recorded at St. Martin's, 19 Jan. 1734/5 and 25 Feb. 1734/5, agree exactly with the entries at Edgbaston. It must be remembered that the official registers were hardly ever entered up day by day, but written up at intervals from informal records, which led to great confusion. The Rev. C. S.

he afterwards married." And here, however convinced we are of her inability to tell a true story, we must quote Miss Seward, in her letter to Boswell of 25 March 1785. After her absurd romance about Lucy Porter having "won Johnson's youthful heart," while he was at Lichfield School,\* she thus proceeds :—

The nymph, at length, returned to her parents at Birmingham, and was soon forgotten. Business taking Johnson to Birmingham, on the death of his own father, and calling upon his coy mistress there, he found her father dying. He passed all his leisure hours at Mr. Porter's, attending his sick bed, and in a few months after his death asked Mrs. Johnson's consent to marry the old widow. . . . . And thus became accomplished this very curious amour.†

As space is valuable, I cannot quote Miss Seward at full length, and must refer enquirers to the original. Her statements have so often been traversed that they can have practically no biographical value. Perhaps it is scarcely fair to apply strict chronological tests to stories of this kind, but it is legitimate to point out that nearly three years elapsed between the deaths of Michael Johnson and Harry Porter.

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James, who has also most kindly studied the point, says that the St. Martin's register at that period contains constant entries of people burd. at other churches. In the case of St. Philip's ("New Church"), Birmingham, as well as of Edgbaston, he finds discrepancies of date almost as often as not, and concludes that the dates in the St. Martin's register are only approximate.

\* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 20.

† Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 325.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FINAL MONTHS AS A BACHELOR

*Writes from Birmingham to Edward Cave—Would like to contribute to "The Gentleman's Magazine"—"Widow Camden" of the Castle Inn—His courtship of the Widow Porter—Publication at last of his translation of "Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia"—Dedication to John Warren—The Warrens of Trewern—The future Dean Addenbrooke recommends Johnson in a letter to Thomas Whitby—Becomes tutor to Mr. Whitby's son at Great Haywood—The date of this incident—Dean Addenbrooke's kindness remembered by Johnson in after life—The Whitby household—Boswell deliberately omits the Whitby incident—Johnson attends Colwich church, and repeats the sermon from memory—Theophilus Levett as an intermediary—Approaching marriage suggested in Addenbrooke's letter—Johnson's letter to Gilbert Repington at Oxford—Wants delivery of the books he had left at the University—The Repington family of Tamworth—Taylor's neglect of Johnson's books—Letter to Richard Congreve of Christ Church—Johnson already decided on keeping a private school—His depressing picture of a tutor's lot—Association with the Congreves—Conceals his imminent marriage even from an old friend—The next chapter of his life.*

A FEW months later we find Johnson back at Birmingham, writing the well-known letter to Edward Cave, founder and editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in which he made a further effort to get his foot on the literary ladder :—

TO MR. CAVE.

SIR,

Nov. 25, 1734.

As you appear no less sensible than your readers of the defects of your poetical article, you will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person, who will undertake, on reasonable terms, sometimes to fill a column.

His opinion is, that the publick would not give you a bad reception, if, beside the current wit of the month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will some times supply you with ; but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authours ancient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like



Floyer's,\* worth preserving. By this method, your literary article, for so it might be called, will, he thinks, be better recommended to the publick than by low jests, aukward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party.

If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me in two posts, what the conditions are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer† gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

Your letter by being directed to S. Smith to be left at the Castle in Birmingham,‡ Warwickshire, will reach

Your humble servant. §

Presumably this letter was not signed, and "S. Smith" was an *alias* for S. Johnson. || It scarcely seems a very tactful way for an unknown man to approach an editor, to depreciate the contents of his magazine, but at least Cave endorsed the letter as answered on 2 December. It does not appear, however, to have produced any immediate results, ¶ though Hawkins says the letter in reply "accepted the services of Johnson, and retained him as a correspondent and a contributor to his Magazine." \*\*

The Castle Inn stood in the High Street, or rather in its continuation called the Rother Market, and had two other inns adjoining on the south side. At this time it was kept by Mrs. Hannah Cambden, whose late husband Henry Cambden, son of a Birmingham knife cutler, had his signature witnessed by Johnson's uncle, Nathaniel Ford, in 1727. So that the families were very likely known to one another. The "Mrs. Roebuck, who was once Miss Camden," of whose

\* Boswell says in a footnote :—" Sir John Floyer's Treatise on Cold Baths. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1734, p. 197." This was " A letter [dated Lichfield, 21 Apl. 1728] from the late Sir John Floyer to Mr. King of Bungay, Suffolk, in Recommendation of the Cold Bath." Nichols says it was probably sent by Johnson himself (*ibid.*, 1785, p. 101). For Floyer's associations with Lichfield and the Johnsons, see *ante*, III., 10, 19, 61, 66, 115.

† Boswell says in a footnote :—" A prize of fifty pounds for the best poem on ' Life, Death, Judgement, Heaven, and Hell,' See *Gent.'s Mag.* vol. IV, p. 560."

‡ Birkbeck Hill suspects that Johnson wrote " the Castle Inn, Birmingham." But there is no reason for such a suspicion. " The Castle in Birmingham " was quite a common form of expression, and in his letter of 18 May 1735 Johnson repeats it (see *post*, p. 114).

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 91-2.

|| Murphy says Johnson at this time " corresponded with Cave under a feigned name " (*Essay*, 1792, p. 31).

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 92.

\*\* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 29.

death Johnson learned at Birmingham in August 1777, was probably a daughter of the host of the Castle Inn.\*

We can at least make the concession to Miss Seward of believing that on this visit to Birmingham he would be looking up the widowed Mrs. Porter, and showing some symptoms of attachment. Boswell points out that a man who has kept a strong rein over his sexual passions, when he does engage in a virtuous courtship, becomes a very ardent wooer :—

This was experienced by Johnson, when he became the fervent admirer of Mrs. Porter, after her first husband's death. Miss Porter told me, that when he was first introduced to her mother, his appearance was very forbidding : he was then lean and lank, so that his immense structure of bones was hideously striking to the eye, and the scars of the scrophula were deeply visible. He also wore his hair, which was straight and stiff, and separated behind : and he often had, seemingly, convulsive starts and odd gesticulations, which tended to excite at once surprize and ridicule. Mrs. Porter was so much engaged by his conversation that she overlooked all these external disadvantages, and said to her daughter, " this is the most sensible man that I ever saw in my life."†

This, presumably, was her verdict on him while the excellent Mr. Porter was alive—a verdict dictated by reason rather than sentiment. It is of interest that the Porters' house in the High Street, where Johnson had first made their acquaintance,‡ was vacated by them after the father's death,§ for in 1735 Thomas Warren, the printer, who had moved once again,|| was its occupant.¶

We must imagine Johnson pursuing his courtship through the winter of 1734-5, oscillating between Lichfield and Birmingham. We have already heard that his translation of Lobo's *Voyage*, though finished not later than the winter of 1733-4, was only published in 1735.\*\* It was early in the year, for its publication is noticed in *The*

\* See *post*, Appendix P., pp. 265-70.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 94-5.

‡ See *ante*, p. 99.

§ " Mr. Will<sup>m</sup>. Ward, Mercer in Birm., " referred to in Johnson's letter to Theophilus Levett of 3 Jan. 1743/4 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 15), took over Harry Porter's business (Hill and Dent's *Memorials of the Old Square*, 1897, p. 50).

|| See *ante*, p. 93.

¶ Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 43-4.

\*\* See *ante*, p. 96.

*Literary Magazine* for March 1735, p. 153, at some length. The title page runs as follows :—

A | Voyage | to | Abyssinia | by | Father Jerome Lobo | A Portuguese Jesuit | By Mr. Legrand | From the French | London | Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch\* | at the Red Lyon in Paternoster Row.†

The dedication of the work is as follows :—

To | John Warren, Esq ; | of | Trewern, | In the County of | Pembroke.  
Sir,

The Publication of the following Sheets affording me an Opportunity of testifying my Gratitude, I could not forbear inscribing them to you ; Addresses of this Kind being never less liable to Censure than when offer'd like this, as Acknowledgment of Favours.

A generous and elevated Mind is distinguish'd by nothing more Certainly than an eminent Degree of Curiosity, nor is that Curiosity ever more agreeably or usefully employ'd, than in examining the Laws and Customs of foreign Nations. I hope, therefore, the Present I now presume to make will not be thought improper, which, however, it is not my Business, as a Dedicator, to commend, nor, as a Bookseller, to depreciate.

Such as it is, I entreat your Acceptance of it, as a Token of the highest Respect and sincerest Affection of,

Sir,  
Your Most Obligated,  
Humble Servant,  
The Editor.

This dedication bears strong internal evidence of being Johnson's composition.‡ No one has told us anything of John Warren, to whom the dedication is addressed, but he was the representative of an old county family in South Wales. His place, Trewern, was in the parish of Nevern, in Pembrokeshire, of which county he, now a man of about sixty-two, had been High Sheriff in 1712, as his father, William Warren,

\* See my account of Arthur Bettesworth [d. 1739], and his son-in-law, Charles Hitch [d. 1764], in *Notes and Queries* for 14 Oct. 1922 (12 S. XI. 303-5), under "Samuel Richardson and his Family Circle." The names of Bettesworth and Hitch also appear on the title-page of Brodhurst's *Sermons* (*ante*, p. 95, and Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, plate facing p. 45). Boswell has told us that Lobo's *Voyage* "was in reality printed at Birmingham" (see *ante*, p. 96), and Hill in his *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, p. 43, has proved this by type comparison.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 89.

had been before him in 1674.\* It is hard to believe that a man so unknown to fame, who has left no evidence of literary interests, and living so far away on the remote sea-board of Cardigan Bay, would have been known even by name to Thomas Warren, the Birmingham bookseller, unless there had been some kinship between them, of which the "affection" with which the dedication concludes is evidence, in all probability, as no ordinary relation of publisher and patron would have allowed the use of so familiar a word.

It will have been remarked that Johnson is said to have borrowed the copy of Lobo's *Voyage*, from which he made his translation, "of Pembroke College."† "He does not appear to have returned the book," says the College historian,‡ and it is doubtful whether there is any truth in the story. Mr. L. F. Powell tells me that there is no record of the book ever having been in the library; and the register of books borrowed from it, which begins in November 1733, is silent on the question. If, however, he had begun the translation early in 1733,§ this fact would have no significance. It is quite possible, too, that he borrowed it from some private source at Pembroke.

Following close after the publication of Lobo's *Voyage* comes the revelation of a very interesting incident in Johnson's career, in a letter addressed from Stafford by John Addenbrooke, then Perpetual

\* William Warren, of Trewern, Sheriff of Pembroke in 1674, died in 1710, and was burd. at Trewern. He married, on 27 July 1665, Dorothy, dau. of James Bowen, of Llwyngwair, Pemb. Their son, John Warren, of Trewern, was bapt. 22 May 1673 at Trewern, was Sheriff in 1712, and died in 1743. He mard. 1<sup>st</sup>, Katherine, dau. of Lewis Wogan, of Wiston, Pemb., on 27 Feb., 1710/11, at Cilgwyn; she died in 1720. He mard., 2<sup>nd</sup>, Dorothy, widow of William Skyrme, of Longridge, Pemb., and previously widow of Charles Philipps, of Sandy Haven, Pemb.; she left no issue by John Warren (inf. of Mr. Francis Green, of Glanymor, St. David's). In the *Gentl's Mag.* for Apl. 1735, p. 218, I find this marriage, undated:—"William Warren, Esq.; of Ffewern, Pembrokeshire — to Mrs. Skirm in the same County, with 2,000*l.* per Ann." This was just after the publication of Lobo's *Voyage*. John Warren and Katherine Wogan had a son, William Warren, Sheriff of Pemb. in 1740, who mard. Jane, dau. of William Skyrme, aforesaid, and had four daus., of whom Elizabeth, the youngest co-heir, mard. in 1762 William Edwardes, 1<sup>st</sup>. Baron Kensington, and ancestor of the present peer. As the parentage of Thomas Warren, of Birmingham, remains undiscovered (see *ante*, p. 93), the relationship between him and the Warrens of Trewern, if it existed, cannot be more than suggested.

† See *ante*, p. 96.

‡ *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 339.

§ See *ante*, pp. 95-6.



Curate of St. Chad's, Lichfield,\* to "Thomas Whitby, Esq<sup>re</sup>, at Heywood" †:—

I have sent you enclosed Mr. Johnson's letter to Mr. Levett. The sum I mentioned to Mr. Levett was as little as, I thought, could be offered to a Gentleman of Character for half a year's attendance. But his affairs, you see, wont give him leave to be with your son so long. So that if you'll let me know what will be agreeable to you to give for that time I'll communicate it to Mr. Levett, & the Gentleman may wait upon you immediately. I can only say, that if Mr. Johnson will do what He is capable of doing in that time He will be of more service to your son than a year spent in the usual way at the University. I shall be glad to know your Resolution tomorrow; because I am obliged to go to Sudbury on Monday, where I shall stay all the week.

I am, Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

J. ADDENBROOKE.

My humble service waite upon the Family.

Stafford, May 10.

The excellent cleric, not knowing that he was penning an historic document, unfortunately omitted to add the year. A later member of the Whitby family, another Thomas [1746-1818], eldest son of the young gentleman mentioned in the letter, made some notes thereon. Under the signature he puts in brackets "then Rector of Stafford, afterwards Dean of Lichfield"; and after May 10, "s.d., but probably 1732 or 1733." ‡ He also wrote this endorsement:—

Creswell, Nov. 18, 1824.

This letter [*i.e.* Mr. A.'s] was written probably to my grandfather soon after Mr. Johnson [left?] Bosworth. I have frequently heard Mrs. Wells, my father's youngest sister, say, that she remembered Mr. [Dr.] Johnson being at Heywood as Tutor to her brother, & that he frequently instructed her in the English language.

THO. WHITBY.

Mr. Mazzinghi suggested an earlier date for the letter—that it was written during Johnson's Oxford days. But there can scarcely be a doubt that it belongs to 1735. From the letter itself I concluded

\* He was appointed on 15 Sept. 1732 (see *post*, p. 110).

† This letter was communicated to *Notes and Queries* for 29 Nov. 1884 (6<sup>th</sup> S. X. 421-2), by T. J. M. [Mazzinghi, of the Salt Library, Stafford], in an article entitled "Dr. Johnson's Early Life."

‡ This approximate date has been more or less accepted by Lieut.-Col. F. Grant, in his *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 1887, pp. 31-2; and by Joseph Hill and Robert K. Dent in their *Memorials of the Old Square* [Birmingham], 1897, p. 25.

long ago that it had been written on a Saturday, and as between 1730 and 1745 the 10<sup>th</sup> of May fell on a Saturday only in 1735 and 1740 I further concluded that it belonged to one of those two years. And when, shortly afterwards, there was discovered the letter—presently to be printed\*—of 25 June 1735, showing him then resident with the Whitbys, I felt the matter to be settled in favour of that year.†

Apart from the letter dovetailing in here so perfectly, there is another piece of evidence which dates it approximately about this year. On 30 November 1774, Johnson wrote to his friend William Strahan, the printer, asking for a leaf in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* to be cancelled :—

In one of the pages there is a severe censure of the clergy of an English Cathedral which I am afraid is just, but I have since recollected that from me it may be thought improper, for the Dean did me a kindness about forty years ago. He is now very old, and I am not young. Reproach can do him no good, and in myself I know not whether it is zeal or wantonness.

Dr. Birkbeck Hill discusses this letter at some length, and concludes that the reference was probably to Lichfield Cathedral—which it was‡—and to its then Dean, Addenbrooke, who held office from 1745 to his death in 1776.§ We now see clearly that it was Addenbrooke, and that it was his “kindness about forty years ago”—to be precise, forty years less six months—in thus helping Johnson to obtain a tutorship that, when recollected, induced this letter to Strahan. Johnson

\* See *post*, p. 115.

† See my letter in *The Athenæum*, 15 May 1909, p. 586.

‡ The leaf cancelled as a consequence of Johnson's letter is reproduced in R. W. Chapman's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1924, p. 452, with an endorsement thereon that “Lichfield is the Cathedral alluded to.”

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, VI., Addenda, pp. xxxiii-iv.; *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 301. Johnson's censure was concerned with the stripping of lead from cathedral roofs. The following account of Addenbrooke from Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* does not mention his incumbency of St. Chad's, Lichfield, or support the statement that he was Rector of Stafford :—“ADDENBROOK, JOHN. Adm. pens. at St. Catharine's, July 6, 1707. Of Hereford. Son of John [1671]. Matric. 1708; B.A. 1711-2; M.A. 1715; Fellow, 1716-31; D.D. 1748. Ord. deacon (London) June 12, 1715; priest (Ely) June 16, 1717. R. of Sapey, 1727. R. of Sudbury, Derbs., 1736. Dean of Lichfield, 1745. R. of Ashby, Norfolk, 1747. Died Feb. 25, 1776.” He was Perpetual Curate of St. Chad's from 15 Sept. 1732 (Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 505).

had, indeed, visited him at Lichfield three years before, as recounted in a letter to Mrs. Thrale of 5 August 1771 :—

I have just been with the old Dean, if I may call him old who is but seventy-eight ; and find him as well, both in mind and body, as his younger neighbours.\*

When we come to investigate the Whitby family history at that time, we find our chronology supported. In the middle of 1735 the household at Great Haywood consisted of Thomas Whitby, the father, and Jane his wife, with children, John, just turned nineteen ; Edward, aged eighteen ; Richard, aged seventeen ; Mary, aged twenty ; and Jane, aged thirteen. John, the eldest son, it is most significant to observe, matriculated from University College, Oxford, on 24 March 1735/6 ; and there can scarcely be the slightest doubt that it was he whom Johnson was required to coach. It will have been noticed that Mr. Whitby wanted a tutor for his son for "half a year," so it was evidently not intended to send him to the University before 1736. It looks as if the son, for some reason, was backward in his studies. The youngest daughter Jane, who years afterwards, as Mrs. Wells, recollected Johnson's tutorship at Haywood and her own lessons from him in English, was of a suitable age for such instruction in 1735. In 1740 (the alternative year for Johnson's sojourn there) she would have been eighteen and her brothers too old to be coached for the University,† which precludes the idea of a second stay there in that year.

A chronological difficulty may seem to lie in Addenbrooke's statement that he had to go to Sudbury for a week, for he did not become Rector of Sudbury until 14 August 1736.‡ This, however, could be explained in various ways, and he did not state that he was called there for clerical duties ; in fact his going there on a Monday discourages the idea. Perhaps he was to pay a visit to George Venables Vernon, of Sudbury,§ who presented him in 1736.

It is rather curious that Boswell had been told of the Whitby incident, yet omitted all reference to it in the *Life*. His original note

\* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 185.

† See Appendix N., pp. 257-8.

‡ J. C. Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, III., 318.

§ See *ante*, p. 81.





little senior to Johnson himself ;\* but we know nothing by which to estimate the value of his sermons, except that such close attention to their matter suggests that they were by no means barren of ideas. Mr. Mazzinghi suggests it would be at Oakedge that Johnson lived with the Whitbys, not Haywood ;† but according to the pedigree it was John Whitby (the pupil of Johnson), who purchased Oakedge and lived there.‡

To return to Addenbrooke's letter itself, it appears that " Mr. Levett " was the intermediary between him and Johnson. This, of course, was Theophilus Levett [1693-1746], the well-born Town Clerk of Lichfield, whose " long series of kindness to my Father and myself " Johnson acknowledged direct in 1744.§ But that Addenbrooke already knew Johnson personally is evident from the high tribute he pays to his capacities. The fact that Johnson's " affairs " would not allow him to give young Whitby the full six months' tutoring desired for him we can read as evidence that the date of his marriage, which took place just two months later, was already more or less fixed.

Following only eight days after Addenbrooke's letter, we have another very valuable piece of evidence as to this part of Johnson's career, which only came to light in 1909.|| This is his letter, already alluded to,¶ addressed to " Mr. Gilbert Repington, in Peckwater\*\* Christ Church, Oxford, by London " :—

SIR,

I hope You will not imagine from my Silence, that I neglected the kind offer which You [r] Brother was pleased to make, that You would take some care about my Books ; I had wrote much sooner, but that I did not know till to-day whither to direct.

\* John, son of John Clements, of St. Swithin's, co. Worc., gent., matric. 3 Nov. 1726, aged 17, at St. Mary Hall (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). John Clements was presented to the vicarage of Colwich, Staffs., Jany. 1733/4, by John Morse, Prebendary of Colwich (P.R.O. Institution Book). John Ford, the next vicar of Colwich, was appointed in 1760.

† *Notes and Queries*, 6<sup>th</sup> S. X. 422.

‡ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, " Whitby of Creswell."

§ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, IV., 10, 190.

|| It was discovered among the family papers of General Sir Walter Norris Congreve, V.C., and communicated to *The Athenæum*, of 4 Sept. 1909, pp. 265-6, by Miss J. Schomberg.

¶ See ante, p. 27.

\*\* Peckwater is one of the buildings of Christ Church.

The Books (of which I have written a Catalogue on the other side) were left with Mr. Taylor, from whom I had some reason to expect a regard to my Affairs. There were in the same box, which I left lock'd, some papers of a very private Nature, which I hope fell into good hands. The Books are now, I hear, with Mr. Spicer of Chhist [*sic*] Church. I beg You, Dear Sir, that you will be pleased to collect them with what care you can, and transmit them directed to me at the Castle in Birmingham Warwickshire, to which a Carrier goes weekly from Oxford. I will very thankfully repay the expenses of Boxes, Porters, and Letters to your Brother, or whoever [*sic*] else You shall think fit to receive 'em. I am sorry to give You this trouble which I hope You'll excuse from a former Schoolfellow. Be pleased to answer this by the next post, for I long to know in what condition my affairs stand. If Mr. Congreve be in College pray pay my compliments to him, and let him know I should think his correspondence a pleasure, and would gladly write to him, if I was inform'd what college he is of. I have many other Acquaintance in the University whom I remember with Pleasure, but shall not trouble You with messages, for I shall esteem You sufficiently kind if You manage this Affair for,

Dear Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

My humble Service to  
Mr. Spicer.

SAM: JOHNSON.

Lichfield May 18<sup>th</sup> 1735.

The "Catalogue" of his books I have given elsewhere,\* and also discussed†; and have considered the parts played by Taylor, Spicer and Repington, in their care and despatch.‡ It is interesting to find Johnson's letter to Repington among the Congreve papers, for it shows that when Repington had read it, and despatched the books as requested, he must have handed it over to "Mr. Congreve," from whom Johnson so much desired to hear. And Congreve must have preserved it carefully.

Gilbert Repington, whom this letter shows to have been one of Johnson's schoolfellows,§ had matriculated from Christ Church on 7 December 1734, aged 21: he did not take his B.A. till 1740 and his M.A. till 1742. His brother, John Repington, had matriculated from Exeter College on 12 July 1729, aged 18,|| so may have known Johnson at Oxford.¶ Perhaps John it was who had met Johnson in the country,

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\* See Appendix, K., p. 213.

† See *ante*, pp. 28-30.

‡ See *ante*, pp. 27-8.

§ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 128.

|| Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

¶ See *ante*, p. 31.

and, hearing of his wish to recover his books from Oxford, had promised that his brother there would attend to them. It will be noticed that Johnson undertakes to pay all the expenses of carriage, etc., to Gilbert's brother, who must therefore have been easily accessible. The family place of the Repingtons was at Tamworth, only a few miles from Lichfield, and was inherited by John's and Gilbert's eldest brother, who afterwards married a daughter of Johnson's good friend Theophilus Levett.\*

The letter suggests that the box in which Johnson had left his books locked up (and it must have been a large box to hold some 115 volumes) had, to his knowledge, been opened, and the books taken out, an act for which Taylor seems to have been held responsible. For he asks Repington to "collect them with what care he can," at Mr. Spicer's, and hopes that the "papers of a very private nature," included with the books, "fell into good hands."

Johnson displays a keen anxiety to recover his little library at once and to learn its condition. The cause of his requiring the books so quickly, after they had been long out of his hands, is obvious. With his marriage approaching, and the idea of opening a private school taking shape in his mind, they would seem very essential.

When Congreve was handed Johnson's letter by Repington, he did not delay any longer in answering his old friend's request for "his correspondence." For some weeks after it was written we find Johnson acknowledging the desired letter from Congreve :—

Great Haywood, June 25<sup>th</sup> 1735.

DEAR SIR

The Excess of Ceremony with which You are pleas'd to address an old Acquaintance I should fear would have portended no great Sincerity to our future Correspondence, had You not taken care by a very important kindness to obviate the omen. Our former familiarity which You show in so agreeable a Light was embarrass'd with no forms, and we were content to love without complimenting each other. It was such as well became our rural Retreats, shades unpolluted by Flattery and falsehood! thickets where Interest and Artifice never lay conceal'd! To such an acquaintance I again invite you, and if in your early Life you received any pleasure from my conversation shall now expect You to repay it by a frank and unreserv'd communication of y<sup>r</sup> Judgement,

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\* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 128; and IV., 190-1. I find from *Gent's Mag.*, 1737, p. 701, that the marriage took place on 3 Nov. 1737 :—"Edward Repington, Esq., of Litchfield, — to Miss Levett, Daughter of the Town-Clerk."

reflexions, and opinions. Solitude is certainly one of the greatest obstacles to pleasure and improvement, and as he may be justly said to be alone, who has none to whom he imparts his thoughts, so he, who has a friend, though distant, with whom he converses without suspicion of being ridicul'd or betray'd, may be justly esteem'd to enjoy the advantages of Society.

It is usual for Friends that have been long separated to entertain each other at their first meeting, with an account of that interval of Life which has pass'd since their last interview, a custom ! which I hope you will observe, but as little has happen'd to me that You can receive any pleasure from the relation of, I will not trouble you with an account of time not always very agreeably spent, but instead of past disappointments shall acquaint You with my present scheme of Life.

I am now going to furnish a House in the Country, and keep a private boarding-school for Young Gentlemen whom I shall endeavour to instruct in a method somewhat more rational than those commonly practised which you know there is no great vanity in presuming to attempt. Before I draw up my plan of Education, I shall attempt to procure an account of the different ways of teaching in use at the most celebrated Schools, and shall therefore hope You will favour me with the method of the Charter-house, and procure me that of Westminster.

It may be written in a few lines by only mentioning under each class their Exercise and Authors.

You see I ask new favours before I have thank'd You for those I have receiv'd, but however I may neglect to express my gratitude, be assur'd I shall not soon forget my obligation either to Mr. Reppington, or Yourself.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your humble Servant,

SAM: JOHNSON.

Be pleased to direct to me  
at Tho. Whitby's Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
of Great Haywood near  
Lichfield.

This letter, which Johnson had addressed to "Mr. Congreve of Ch. Church, Oxford, by London," only came to light, like the one to Gilbert Repington, in 1909.\* It is certainly of great interest and importance, and would have delighted Dr. Birkbeck Hill. In the first place, as we have already seen, it proves that he really did act as tutor in the Whitby's house, and fixes the date more surely.† It proves that the scheme for the school at Edial was ready to be put into action,

\* It also was discovered among the Congreve papers, and communicated to *The Athenæum* of 8 May 1909, pp. 559-60, by Miss J. Schomberg.

† See *ante*, p. 110.



when the possession of a wife with capital made it possible. And it gives us Johnson's own very reticent verdict on the preceding few years of his life, that they had been "not always very agreeably spent," and would evidently not be willingly chronicled by him. If the remarks he made in after life to the Rev. Percival Stockdale, on the subject of private tutors, were coloured by his experience with the Whitbys, he cannot even have been happy while with them. Stockdale was told frankly that he "must expect insolence" while acting as tutor to Lord Craven's son, a situation which must, "consistently with the absurd, and illiberal manner in which private tutors were generally treated, be a very disagreeable, and mortifying one"—and so on.\* But we must not, on this evidence, condemn the Whitbys, who may have been a bright exception to Johnson's general rule.

The recipient of Johnson's letter, Richard Congreve, had matriculated from Christ Church on 17 March 1732/3, aged 18; he took his B.A. in 1736, and his M.A. in 1739.† Son to a first cousin of William Congreve, the dramatist, and descended of an ancient Staffordshire family, his elder brother Charles, afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh, had been Johnson's schoolfellow at Lichfield Grammar School,‡ and had been at Oxford with him too, though they never seem to have met while there.§ Considering that Richard Congreve was four-and-a-half years younger than Johnson, it is rather remarkable that they should have lived in such intimacy in their early life. Elsewhere I have suggested that Richard was also probably Johnson's schoolfellow,|| but if so he must have proceeded afterwards to the Charterhouse, as Johnson asks him for the teaching method practised there.

Clearly Johnson was a little hurt by what he thought the excessive formality of Richard Congreve's letter, but the "important kindness" alluded to counteracted the effect of such seeming coldness on Johnson's mind. I think it evident that Congreve must have given material assistance to Gilbert Repington in the despatch of the books, and that that constituted the kind act for which Johnson would not soon forget

\* *Memoirs of Percival Stockdale*, 1809, II., 191-2.

† Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

‡ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 126-7.

§ See ante, p. 5.

|| *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 127.

his obligation. Their correspondence on this occasion does not seem to have revived their intimacy for long, but in 1755 Richard Congreve, then a clergyman living near Cannock, wrote to Johnson to confess a debt of small amount but long standing, and received an affectionate reply.\*

It is a little strange that Johnson, when appealing to his friend for a confidential interchange of news and ideas, deliberately concealed the fact of his approaching marriage to Mrs. Porter, which took place only a fortnight later. He must have been acutely aware that, with such a disparity of years between him and his wife, all in the wrong direction, few of his friends, when in possession of the facts, would have considered it a matter for congratulation.

With his marriage opens a new but scarcely less troubled chapter of Johnson's life, which calls for treatment in a separate volume.

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\* *The Athenæum*, 23 May 1908, p. 638.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A.

### ANDREW CORBET AND HIS FAMILY

(See *ante*, pp. 3-4, 22-3, 57, 58, 81, 86, and III., 128-9)

THE following account of Andrew Corbet and his immediate relatives is compiled from George Morris's MS. *Shropshire Pedigrees* (now at Eyton Hall, Shropshire) ;\* from the printed registers of Battlefield, Shropshire (*Parish Register Society*, Vol. XIX.) ; from the wills mentioned ; and from other sources more particularly cited :—

**ROBERT CORBET**, of Albright Hussey, in par. of Battlefield, co. Salop ; son of Pelham Corbet, of Albright Hussey, and of Leigh, in par. of Worthen, co. Salop, by Anne his wife, dau. of Sir Andrew Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, co. Salop ; bapt. 25 Oct. 1629 at Moreton Corbet ; appointed Captain of Foot in Lord Newport's Regt. 1685 ; burd. 14 May 1698, aged 69, at Battlefield. He mard. 1<sup>st</sup>, 13 May 1658, at Preshute, co. Wilts., Elizabeth, dau. of — Eyre, of co. Wilts. ;† she was burd. 25 July 1667 at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, having had issue

I. Robert Corbet, bapt. 30 Nov. 1665 and burd. 18 Mch. 1665/6 at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.

II. Robert Corbet, died in infancy ; burd. 28 Aug. 1670 at Battlefield.

I. Elizabeth Corbet, bapt. 25 Sept. 1664 and burd. 31 May 1667 at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.

II. Anne Corbet, burd. 27 June 1667 at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.

He mard., 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Elizabeth, dau. of Roger Kynaston, of Hordley, co. Salop ; she died 4 Apl. 1691, aged 60, having had issue,

III. ROGER CORBET, of whom *presently*.

IV. Andrew Corbet, Capt. in the Army ; bapt. 16 Oct. 1677 at Hordley ; admitted a burgess of Shrewsbury, 27 Nov. 1721. On 19 Apl. 1707 he was presumably on active service, for in her will of that date his sister Sinah leaves him £200 " if he return alive out of Spain into England."

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\* I am indebted to the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Oxon, for a copy of this portion of the pedigree.

† Discovery of this marriage I owe to Mr. Edward Kite, of Devizes. Morris's pedigree stated that Robert Corbet mard. 1<sup>st</sup> Elizabeth Kynaston and 2<sup>nd</sup> Anne Eyre, which made hopeless confusion.

On 16 Jany. 1715 he mard. at Preston Gubbals, co. Salop, Alethea, dau. of Richard Cleaton, of Leigh Hall, par. of Worthen, co. Salop, and had issue. Sinah Corbet leaves £20 to "Mrs. Alethea Clayton."

III. Rebecca Corbet, bapt. 1 Mch. 1671/2 at Battlefield.

IV. Mary Corbet, bapt. 11 Jany. 1675 at Hordley; mard. 28 May 1703, at Forton, co. Staffs., Rev. Francis Skrymsher, M.A. Trinity Coll., Oxford, Rector of Forton from 1667, and Rector of Chetwynd, co. Salop, from 1693; son of Richard Skrymsher, of Browne Grange, co. Staffs. Admon. of Rev. Francis Skrymsher's estate was granted at Lichfield, 5 Dec. 1727, to Mary, the widow, of Forton, who left issue by him (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 253, 258).

V. Sinah Corbet, of Forton, co. Stafford; bapt. 3 May 1681 at Hordley; died 10 Feb. 1713/14, unmard.; burd. at Forton (*ibid.*, p. 253). The will of Sinah Corbet, of Forton, co. Staffs., in good health, dated 19 Apl. 1707, was proved 16 Mch. 1713/14, at Lichfield, by Francis Skrymsher, Rector of Forton.

**ROGER CORBET**, eldest surviving son of Robert Corbet preceding; bapt. 20 Dec. 1673 at Battlefield; of Albright Hussey, and of Leigh, co. Salop; burd. 12 Aug. 1715 at Battlefield. The will of Roger Corbet, of the Hall of Hussey, co. Salop, Esq., dated 1 June 1703, was proved at Lichfield, 19 Oct. 1715, by Elizabeth Corbet, the widow and sole extrix. He recites a settlement of 2 Apl. 1701, with regard to his Manor of Leigh, and the site of his capital messuage or Hall House, called Leigh Hall, par. of Worthen, lately burnt, destroyed or demolished. He does not mention any children by name, but leaves £2500 to any dau. he may have, or £3000 between more than one, and £500 to his wife. On 5 Mch. 1697/8 he mard., at Battlefield, Elizabeth (bapt. 26 May 1669), dau. of Sir Francis Edwardes, of Shrewsbury, 2<sup>nd</sup> bart. She died 8 Jany. 1727/8, aged 58, and was burd. at Battlefield. I have not found that she left a will. They had issue,

I. Robert Corbet, bapt. 18 May 1699 at Battlefield, and burd. there 31 May 1699.

II. Roger Corbet, bapt. 21 Dec. 1703 at Battlefield, and burd. there 30 Dec. 1714, aged 11.

III. **ANDREW CORBET**, of whom presently.

IV. John Corbet, of Albright Hussey; bapt. 17 Jany. 1710/11 at Battlefield; sold the Leigh estate; inherited Sundorne on death of his bror. Andrew in 1741; burd. 22 Sept. 1759 at Battlefield. The will of John Corbet, of Sundorne, co. Salop, Esq., dated 7 Apl. 1759, with codicils of 14 July and 4 Sept. 1759, was proved 7 May 1760, in P.C.C. [Lynch 187], by Barbara Letitia, the relict, and 8 June 1816 by John Corbet, Esq., the son. He mard., 1<sup>st</sup>, 10 July 1742, Frances, dau. of Robert Piggott, of Chetwynd, co. Salop. She was bapt. 15 July 1711,



and burd. 11 Feb. 1749, at Chetwynd, leaving an only child, Frances, who died unmard. before her father ; and, 2<sup>nd</sup>, Barbara Letitia, dau. of John Mytton, of Halston, co. Salop, who was born 23 July 1732, mard. 27 Oct. 1750 at Halston, died suddenly, 10 Sept. 1796, at Davenport House, co. Salop, and was burd. at Battlefield, having mard., for her second husband, Edward Williams, of Eaton Mascot. For descendants of John Corbet and Barbara Letitia Mytton, see Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

- I. Elizabeth Corbet, bapt. 10 Aug. 1701 at Battlefield (god-dau. of her aunt Sinah) ; mard. 7 Nov. 1728, at Lichfield Cathedral, Rev. Beaumont Dixie, and was still alive on 7 Apl. 1759. Her husband was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel Coll., Camb., 30 Jany. 1722/3, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Sir Wolstan Dixie, 3<sup>d</sup> bart. of Market Bosworth ; matric. 1724 ; B.A. 1726/7 ; M.A. 1731 ; ordained deacon (Lincoln) 22 Dec. 1728, and priest 1 June 1729 ; Rector of Market Bosworth, co. Leic., 1729-40 ; died 22 Feb. 1739/40, at Bath (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* ; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 507). For descendants of Beaumont Dixie and Elizabeth Corbet, see Burke's *Peerage*.
- II. Eleanora Corbet, bapt. 30 Aug. 1705 at Battlefield (god-dau. of her aunt Sinah) ; mard. 1723, or earlier, Rupert Browne, of Hungry Bentley, par. of Longford, co. Derby ; she lived latterly at Withington, co. Salop, and was burd. 2 Sept. 1766 at Longford. The will of Eleanora Browne, of Withington, co. Salop, widow, dated 25 June 1766, was proved 24 Oct. 1766 at Lichfield. Her husband was eldest son of Thomas Browne, of Hungry Bentley ; bapt. 5 Dec. 1698 at Longford and burd. there 29 May 1733. The will of Rupert Browne, of Bentley Hall, co. Derby, dated 3 Apl. 1733, was proved 20 Oct. 1742, at Lichfield, by Richard Fitzherbert, of Somershall Herbert, Esq., co-exor. with Charles Hurt, of Alderwasley. Rupert and Eleanora Browne had issue, their eldest child, Thomas Browne, being bapt. 16 Dec. 1723 at Longford (*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. 3, pp. 68, 91 ; vol. 4, pp. 153-5, 164). Rupert Browne's sister Penelope, bapt. 9 June 1701 at Longford, mard. Charles Sudell, of Lichfield. On an occasion after Garrick's marr. in 1749, when he was at Ranelagh enjoying aristocratic attention, he met "Mrs. B. and Penelope S.," from Lichfield, and had a chat with them (Fitzgerald's *Garrick*, new ed. 1899, p. 127). It would seem probable that the ladies were Mrs. Browne and Penelope Sudell.
- III. Mary Corbet, bapt. 14 Nov. 1706 at Battlefield and burd. there 10 Dec. 1706.

**ANDREW CORBET**, eldest surviving son of Roger Corbet preceding ; bapt. 2 Nov. 1709 at Battlefield ; matric. 3 May 1727, aged 16 [*sic*], from Pembroke Coll., Oxford, but took no degree. The Buttery Books show that his normal

battels ceased after 1 Nov. 1728, the very week when Johnson's began (see *ante*, p. 6), and that, though his name is still among the gentlemen commoners down to Oct. 1731 (how much longer I do not know), he was never in residence again. He paid £10 caution money on 27 Apl. 1727; it was balanced exactly against his undischarged battels at the convention of 26 Mch. 1740 (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 178). "Andrew Corbet, Esq., Two Copies," appears in list of subscribers to *Husbands's Miscellany*, 1731. He inherited Leigh and Albright Hussey from his father; Hon. Member of Mercers' Co., 9 June 1735 (Morris MS.); succeeded to Sundorne and other valuable estates in Shropshire under will of his kinsman, Corbet Kynaston, who died in 1740, and died himself 15 Apl. 1741, unmard., in par. of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, being burd. at Battlefield 21 Apl. 1741. He left no will, and admon. of his estate was granted 5 May 1741, in P.C.C., to his brother John Corbet (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 230-1).

The will of Corbet Kynaston, of Shrewsbury, co. Salop, Esq., was dated 6 Jany. 1734/5, with a codicil of the next day and another of 13 Apl. 1708 [*sic*], and on 26 Nov. 1740 admon. was granted, in P.C.C., to Andrew Corbet, as the exors., John Walcot, of Walcot, Richard Lyster, of Rowton, and Adam Ottley, of Pitchford, all in co. Salop, renounced. On 5 May 1741 admon. was granted to John Corbet, brother of Andrew Corbet then decd. The will speaks of his late grandmother, Dame Elizabeth Corbet, and his mother's late brother, Sir Vincent Corbet; as also of his bror. Roger Kynaston. He was a son of John Kynaston, of Hordley, who mard. Beatrice (bapt. 1669), dau. of Sir Vincent Corbet, 2<sup>nd</sup> bart. of Moreton Corbet, co. Salop (and of Elizabeth Thornes his wife), and sister of Sir Vincent Corbet [1670-88], the 3<sup>rd</sup> and last bart. (see Burke's *Peerage*, and *Extinct Baronetcies*, under "Corbet"). Under the will he left his manor and advowson of Hordley, and other estates in Shropshire and Montgomeryshire, to Anna Maria Mytton [later wife of Sir Charlton Leighton, 3<sup>rd</sup> bart.], "one of his right heirs," and the rest of his estates to Andrew Corbet, of "Aughthussey," co. Salop, Esq., but the second codicil revoked the bequest to Anna Maria Mytton in favour of the said Andrew Corbet. The relationship is not specified, but no doubt it was through Andrew Corbet's grandmother, Elizabeth Kynaston of Hordley. The families of Corbet, Kynaston, Mytton, Edwardes Piggott and Skrymsher, were much intermarried at that period. The Rev. Dryden Walter Piggott [1667-1739], who married Andrew Corbet's aunt Eleanor Edwardes in 1705 and who is mentioned by

Johnson in his Life of Addison (*ante*, III., 128-9), was uncle to Frances Piggott who married Andrew Corbet's brother John in 1742 (*ante*, p. 120) and nephew to Thomas Piggott [1643-95], who married Mary, dau. of William Venables, of Kinderton, and had issue Anne Piggott [1690-1714], sole dau. and heir, who mard. Henry Vernon, of Sudbury, co. Derby (see *ante*, p. 81). I am indebted to the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher for a sketch pedigree showing these relationships, the authorities he gives being MSS. in the Salt Library, Stafford, and Blakeway's Shropshire MSS., Vol. VI., in Bodleian Library.

Corbet Kynaston, of Hordley, M.P. for Shrewsbury, died 17 June 1740 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, p. 317) and was burd. 21 June 1740 at Moreton Corbet (*Shropshire Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Moreton Corbet Register"). A letter from Thomas Carte to Corbet Kynaston, "*à Poissy, par Paris*," dated 17 Oct. 1728, is printed in Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, V., 153, where it is stated that he was member for Shrewsbury in 1714 and again in 1724. Dr. Burney, father of Fanny, who came from Shropshire himself, knew of "Kynaston Corbett, M.P.," as Jacobite leader in those parts (*Early Diary of Frances Burney*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis, 1907, I., xviii).

## APPENDIX B.

### THE REV. WILLIAM JORDEN

(See *ante*, pp. 6, 8-9, 18, 33-4, 55-6)

THE career of Johnson's first tutor at Pembroke has never been properly investigated. Birkbeck Hill lifted the veil at one point, but unfortunately (through no fault of his own) in such a way as only to side-track and deceive the unwary.

William, son of the Rev. Humphrey Jorden, of Newland, co. Glouc., matric. 28 Mch. 1702, aged 16, from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, taking his B.A. from Pembroke in 1705, his M.A. in 1708, and



his B.D. in 1728 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). His father, Humphrey, son of Edward Jorden, of Dunsley, co. Staff., *pleb.*, had matric. 14 July 1668, aged 16, also from Pembroke, becoming B.A. 1672, fellow and M.A. 23 Jany. 1674/5 : he was lecturer of Newland, co. Glouc., from 11 Mch. 1676 (*ibid.*). Edward Jorden, who is described in the pedigrees as of Priors Lee, Salop, married Margaret, dau. of Alexander Wightwick, of Wightwick, who was of Founder's kin at Pembroke. William Jorden's aunt, Elizabeth Jorden, married John Adams, of Shrewsbury, whose son William Adams, afterwards Master of Pembroke, was therefore also of Founder's kin to Wightwick and first cousin to Jorden (Macleane's "Pembroke College," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 178). William Jorden became tutor and Chaplain of Pembroke in 1720. In 1711 his cousin Thomas Jorden, then *prælector Græcus*, records William's being paid £2 "for y<sup>e</sup> Latine Lecture" (*ibid.*, XXXIII., 332). On 4 Aug. 1720 Erasmus Phillips, then a gentleman-commoner of Pembroke (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 201), paid his caution money to "the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Jordan (one of the Fellows of Pembroke and one of the Bursars and Chaplain to ditto.);" and on 7 Sept. 1721 went a-riding with his father (Sir John Phillips, 4<sup>th</sup> bart.), and Mr. Jorden, to Shotover Hill (*ibid.*, XXXIII., 323, 326).

Hearne notes in his diary that Mr. William Jorden of Pembroke College was, on 15 Mch. 1728/9, elected by the University to the Rectory of Odstock, in Wiltshire, a living which had belonged to a Roman Catholic family named Webb, his unsuccessful competitor being Mr. Crawford of Balliol\* (*ibid.*, LXVII., 108). But Jorden never held the living. John Green, B.A., was Rector of Odstock from 1692† till his death in 1729—evidently early in the year—and he was succeeded by John Chandler, who was instituted on 4 Dec. 1729 and died in 1734. The University must have thought that the patronage fell to them, as the Webbs were Roman Catholics,‡ but as a matter of fact the presentation lay with the representatives of the late Thomas Bedwell, of

\* Cornelius Crawford matric. Balliol 22 May 1717, aged 14 ; B.A. 16 Jany. 1720/1 ; M.A. 1723 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).

† Possibly John, son of Maurice Green, of Sarum, gent., who matric. 11 Dec. 1686, aged 17, from Exeter Coll., Oxford ; B.A. 10 Mch. 1691/2 ; student of Lincoln's Inn, 1686 (*ibid.*).

‡ The head of the family at that time was Sir John Webb, 3<sup>rd</sup> bart. of Odstock.



Maisey Hampton, Wiltshire, who duly presented John Chandler.\* The eight months and more that elapsed between William Jorden's election and John Chandler's institution was no doubt largely occupied with disputations between the various parties.

But when it became clear that the Wiltshire living had definitely escaped him, he got one elsewhere. On 14 Nov. 1729 William Jorden, S.T.B., clerk, was instituted to the Rectory of Standon, co. Staff., in the deanery of Newcastle and Stone (on the death of William Jervis, clerk, the last incumbent), having been presented on 8 Nov. 1729 by William Vyse, gent., the patron (P.R.O., Bishop's Certificates, Coventry and Lichfield, Bundle 32). The following paragraph appeared in *The Monthly Chronicle* for Nov. 1729 :—

[11 Nov.] About this time, the Reverend Mr. *Jordan*, B.D. Fellow of *Pembroke College* in *Oxford*, was presented by Mr. *Vyse*, a young Gentleman, his Pupil, to the Rectory of *Standon* in *Staffordshire*, vacant by the Death of the Reverend Mr. *Jarvis*.

On 20 Nov. 1729 William Jorden, after appointment to the rectory of Standon, compounded for the First Fruits at £6-4-6, to be paid in four instalments, on 1 May and 1 Nov. 1730 and 1 May and 1 Nov. 1731, his sureties being John Calcott, of St. Bride's, London, druggist, and Thomas Hunt, of Inner Temple, London (P.R.O., First Fruits Composition Books, 29 f. 86).

The Standon register records that "William Jorden, B.D., was inducted into y<sup>e</sup> rectory of this church by y<sup>e</sup> Revd. Dean Allen (see *ante*, I., 26) Dec. 12<sup>th</sup> 1729." The Rev. William Jervis had died at Standon on 26 Oct. 1729, aged 35. The register in 1733 records that "William Jorden, B.D., did resign the rectory of Standon, Oct. y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>, 1733, to William Vyse" (*Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Standon," p. 73; Rev. Edward Salt's *History of Standon*, 1888, pp. 168, 254, 255, 257).

While still at Standon, but knowing of course that he would soon have to vacate, he had become a pluralist by accepting the living of Seighford, between Stafford and Eccleshall, and only some seven

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\* Information of Mr. John J. Hammond, Diocesan Registrar at Salisbury, and the Rev. Walter Boldero, the present Rector of Odstock, who tells me that John Green's burial is not recorded there, and that none of the Rectors at that time seem to have been resident.

miles from Standon. On 1 Dec. 1731 William Jorden, B.D., clerk, was instituted to the vicarage of Seighford, by presentation of the King (P.R.O., Bishop's Certificates, Coventry and Lichfield, Bundle 32), as recorded in *Gent.'s Mag.* for 1731, Nov., p. 501 :—

Mr. W. Jourdan, to the Vicarage of Seighford, in the County of Stafford.

The Rev. R. St. C. Page, the present Vicar, has kindly searched the register and found an entry that "Will : Jorden B.D. Rect<sup>r</sup> of Standon succeeded Mr. Nic: Loxdale Dec<sup>r</sup> 1731" : this is in Jorden's own hand. In 1737 he was ill, as the two following entries show :—

1737. June 27. Baptized (in my Bed) Elizabeth daughter of Richard and Eliz. Bagnall.  
 „ July 21. Baptized Sarah daughter of Simon & Margaret Dudson private Baptism in my house (sick).

The last entry in Jorden's hand is a wedding on 6 Jany. 1738/9. Next week he died, as an entry in the register by Francis Eld [1691-1760], Master in Chancery, of Seighford Hall, makes clear :—"Jan. 17<sup>th</sup> 1738/9. The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. William Jorden, B.D. and vicar of this P'sh was Buried." On the outside of the Church, on a buttress of the south wall, is a tablet to his memory, measuring about 3'-6" x 2'-0", now decaying badly, bearing the following inscription :—

*Infra | Jacet Gul Jordon | S.T.B. | hujus Ecclesiæ | ce . . . . . s Vicarat |*  
 1685 | Jan. 1738 | Resurrecturus ad | Gratiam per Jesum | Christum Dominum |  
*nostrum.*

Mr. Page's interest in his predecessors, aroused by my enquiries, led to a discovery in the Salt Library at Stafford, by Miss Garbett, the Librarian. Among the MSS. of Thomas Loxdale is "An Account of some of the Rectors and Vicars of the Parishes following, Leek, Seighford, Forton, Norbury, Eccleshall, Tixall, Com. Staff., Chetwyn, Edgmond, Com. Salop" (*Loxdale MS.*, H. 1-5). The concluding notes on the Vicars of Seighford are as follows :—

Tho. Loxdale resigned 1721.

Nicholas Loxdale died 1731.

Wm. Jordan A.M. born in Shropshire Fellow of Pemb: Coll. Ox. & a noted Pupill Monger there was *instituted to Vicarage of Seighford Dec<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1731 and died 1739.*

Wm. Jervis LLB Succeeded June 14<sup>th</sup> 1739.

Thomas Loxdale (1676 ?-1742], who had taken his degree from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1697, was Vicar of Seighford from 1703, Rector of Tixall from 1719, and Vicar of Leek from 1725 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*). He resigned Leek in 1735, and moved to Tixall, but was buried at Seighford. He married Elizabeth Eld, sister of Francis aforementioned. We cannot be certain of the date when he described Jorden, a little disrespectfully it would seem, as "a noted Pupill Monger." The portions I have italicised were written later, in a lighter ink.

There is no record of Jorden having married or had a family, and Mr. Page found no other occurrence of the name in the register down to 1765. I have found no will of his, or administration of his estate.

There are one or two puzzles in connexion with his career. The record of fellows at Pembroke shows that William Jorden, A.B., was admitted 7 Oct. 1707, as of founder's kin to Richard Wightwick, and was succeeded in his fellowship (which he would have to resign when appointed Rector of Standon in Nov. 1729) by Curteis Wightwick on 23 Dec. 1730. The buttery books show that his name disappears after 4 Oct. 1728, when his battels came to 7<sup>s</sup>/3, and does not re-appear until 23 Oct. 1730, after which it is entered each week until 4 Dec. 1730, the only charge against him in this later period being 5<sup>d</sup> on 30 Oct. It makes a fitful appearance again on 5 Feb. 1730/1, and then is dropped altogether. I may add here that the caution book shows him to have been bursar from Oct. 1725 to Oct. 1726, and from Oct. 1727 to Oct. 1728.

The first puzzle is this. How is it that his name does not appear in the buttery books at the time of Johnson's entry into College, at the end of Oct. 1728, when we know that he was in residence (see *ante*, p. 6) and continued in residence, acting as Johnson's tutor (see *ante*, pp. 8-9)? There is only one satisfactory explanation, and that is that early in Oct. 1728 he was appointed to the office of Vicegerent. The Vicegerent was (and is) a fellow nominated by the Master to act as his deputy and to exercise similar powers when the Master was absent, and was usually the senior fellow. Jorden at this time seems to have been senior fellow, as his name appears on 4 Oct. at the head of the list, directly after that of "*Mr. Vicemgerens*," which supports the explanation. Unfortunately the names of these officials do not seem



to have been recorded. When "Mr. Jorden" appears once more on 23 Oct. 1730, it is as sixth in the list of fellows, next week as second, and after that as first again. It is significant that when Jorden thus re-appears, Tipping Silvester (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 205), another fellow, though only fifth on the list, disappears; and that when Silvester re-appears, on 15 Oct. 1731, John Lockton (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 198), who was senior fellow at this time, disappears. From the buttery books, therefore, we can come to no other conclusion than that Jorden was Vicegerent from Oct. 1728 to Oct. 1730, Silvester from Oct. 1730 to Oct. 1731, and Lockton from Oct. 1731. Perhaps Lockton had held the office before, for his name does not appear on 4 Oct. 1728, but does next week when Jorden's disappears.

The second problem is closely akin to the first. We have seen that Jorden was presented to the rectory of Standon in Nov. 1729; and "Will. Jorden, rector," signs the register there about June 1730 (*Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Standon," p. 73). But if he acted as Vicegerent at Pembroke, from Oct. 1728 to Oct. 1730, we should not have expected him to have left the College before that latter date. Yet Hawkins, we have seen (*ante*, p. 33), says that Johnson's "tutor Jordan, in about a year's space, went off to a living which he had been presented to," and the "year's space" brings us to the date of his presentation to Standon. And the buttery books show that the Vicegerent, though in regular residence in College from Oct. 1728 to 12 Dec. 1729 (the very date of Jorden's induction at Standon), was after that absent until 23 Oct. 1730 (the very date when Silvester seems to have succeeded Jorden as Vicegerent).

The evidence therefore, leaves no reasonable doubt that Jorden, a few weeks before Johnson's entry into Pembroke, had been appointed Vicegerent, that he exercised that office until his induction to Standon on 12 Dec. 1729, and that, though resident on his Staffordshire living from that date, he still remained nominally Vicegerent until Silvester was appointed his successor on 23 Oct. 1730. This is corroborated by the fact that no fellow's name disappears during Oct., Nov. or Dec. 1729, which shows that a new Vicegerent was not appointed at that time. Two months after his Vicegerency expired, on 23 Dec. 1730, he vacated his fellowship.



Another little problem remains. If Jorden was inducted to Standon, a hundred miles or so from Oxford, on 12 Dec. 1729, how can he have incurred the charge of 4<sup>s</sup>/1 that is entered against him in the buttery books on that date, if such charge was for the week following such date (see *post*, Appendix H., p. 172) ? The answer to this is that the charge appears as a single undivided entry, that it occurs at the end of the quarter, and that it therefore does not represent sustenance, but merely one of the four annual levies on residents and non-residents alike (see *post*, Appendix H., pp. 167-8).

Hawkins certainly scores by indicating almost exactly the date of Jorden's first appointment to a living, and it is most remarkable that he should have known of Jorden having "given a bond to resign it in favour of a minor." Here again we see Hawkins in possession of accurate and obscure and exclusive information bearing upon Johnson's early life. William Vyse, the "minor," came of age not later than Oct. 1730, but did not claim the living of Standon till he had taken his M.A. degree in 1733 (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 210). I can only imagine that Hawkins got his information about Jorden from William Vyse, the younger, and if this was so it makes it all the more probable that this younger Vyse was the "eminent clergyman" whose father, Hawkins tells us, had insulted Johnson by leaving the new shoes at his door (see *ante*, p. 21).

Among Husbands's subscribers (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 179), collected in or before 1731, occur the names of "Edward Jorden, of Prior's-Lee, Com. Salop, Esq.," and "The Rev. William Jorden, B.D. late Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxon."

## APPENDIX C.

### THE REV. PHILIP JONES

(See *ante*, pp. 14-15)

PHILIP, son of Richard Jones, of St. Peter's-in-the-Bailey, Oxford, gent., matric. 5 Dec. 1727, aged 18, from Pembroke Coll., took his

B.A. in 1731, and his M.A. 20 Mch. 1734/5 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). From Boswell we only learn what Johnson told him when they were together at Pembroke, with Dr. Adams, in Mch. 1776, that in the common room he "used to play at draughts with Phil. Jones," who "loved beer, and did not get very forward in the church" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 444); also that Jones was dead at that time (*Boswell's Note Book*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1925, p. 8).

The buttery books show him among the scholars, and as the immediate junior of Johnson's other friend, Jack Meeke (see *post*, Appendix E., p. 139). He first appears on 27 Oct. 1727, when he definitely came into residence, so that his matriculation was delayed nearly as long as Johnson's (*ante*, p. 9). He was in residence all through Johnson's time at College, without a single week's break, and similarly up to 8 Jany. 1730/1. His charges begin again on 26 Feb. 1730/1, and he only misses one or two weeks (28 May and 4 June 1731) down to the end of Oct. 1731. His name continues down to 1735, though he was not always in College, and does not actually disappear until after 26 Mch. 1742. Latterly the charges against him had only been those levied on non-residents. His earlier record was one remarkable for its regularity. On 25 June 1731, having taken his B.A. degree he first becomes "D<sup>s</sup> Jones."

He was evidently a "character," who inspired more scribblings in the buttery books than any of his contemporaries. In the volume extending from 14 June 1728 to 13 June 1729, these compliments can be deciphered:—

Philip Jones is an Ass, E. Coll. Pemb: 1728—Jones is an Ass and A foolish long Gutts etcet—Milly Jones—Philip Jones with out any stones—Philip Jones 1728—Philip Jones e Coll. Pemb. 1727.

And in vol. 20 June 1729 to 12 June 1730:—

O yes O yes come forth Phill Jones and answer to your charge for exceeding y<sup>e</sup> battails last—ubi Jones—Philip Jones is an affected Fellow, Foppish Dog, alias Coxcomb (*these scored through*)—O yes O yes come forth Phil: Jones alias vinegar hold up your hand at the bar—Ubi Jones ibi Philip et ubi Philip ibi Jones, Et ubi Jones ibi vinegar ergo ubi vinegar ibi Jones.

In the vol. 19 June 1730 to 11 June 1731 is a graphic record of him, which I reproduce herewith, from a tracing:—



*Phil Jones  
His Picture*

No doubt we must take this as a caricature, and a very unskilful one at that, but it evidently illustrates some of his facial peculiarities. There are two other "pictures" of him immediately adjoining, of a much more rudimentary character, which both agree in giving him an exceptionally large nose. The dress is curious for an undergraduate of the period, and the hat decidedly freakish. The stubble on his chin does not suggest the "Coxcomb."

In vol. 18 June 1731 to 16 June 1732 we find :—

to be on at night between either Moseley or Jones or Ellis & Howells—Molly Jones—Mr. Phil: Jones Here's to thee.

The weekly charges against his name do not suggest excessive indulgence in food or drink, but are regular and normal, being almost always 8<sup>s</sup>/- or thereabouts. His highest charge between Oct. 1728 and the time of taking his degree in June 1731 is 15<sup>s</sup>/11. Thereafter they become rather higher on the average, but down to Oct. 1731 the highest charge is 18<sup>s</sup>/11.

The following entries, which Mr. L. F. Powell sends me from the register of books borrowed from Pembroke College library (the earliest entry is dated 10 Nov. 1733), witness to some solid taste in reading on his part, in spite of his love of beer :—

Feb. 18 1735/6 Borrowed of Mr. Meeke Librarian

Turretini Opera Theolog. Vol. 2<sup>d</sup> um.

Bellarmini Controversiæ Vol. 1 mum.

PHIL: JONES.

Martii 1<sup>mo</sup> [1736]

Suarez Defensio Fidei Cathol.

cont. Aug. col.

PHIL: JONES.

Returned May 24 1736

Vol. 3 (*sic*) Turretini Opera.

Bellarmini Controversiæ

Suarez Defensio Fidei Cath.

WALTER CHAPMAN, Librarian.

These books, Mr. Powell tells me, are as follows :—

Turretinus, J.A., *Institutio theologiæ elencticæ*. 4 vols. Lugd. Bat., 1696, 4°.

Bellarminus, Card. R., *Disputationes . . . . de controversiis Christianæ fidei*.

4 vols. Paris, 1608, folio.

Suarez, F., *Defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores*, [etc.]. Colon., 1614, folio.

The volumes of the first item had been labelled by the binder "Turretini Opera"—hence the description in the register of borrowings. It will be noticed that vol. 2 was taken out, and vol. 3 returned.

The following are the only entries in the register of St. Peter-le-Bailey identifiable as relating to Philip Jones and his family :—



Martha the daughter of Mr. Richard Jons was Buryed the 26 day of July 1701.  
 Richard y<sup>e</sup> son of Mr. Richard Jones of this parish was baptized y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of Nov.  
 1703.  
 Richard y<sup>e</sup> son of Mr. Richard Jones of this parish was buried y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1703.  
 Elizabeth the daughter of Mr. Richard Jones was Baptized the first day of  
 November 1704.  
 Elizabeth the daughter of Mr. Richard Jons was Buryed the 14 day of November  
 1704.  
 Jeane the Daughter of Mr. Richard Jones was Baptized the 15 day of Novmber  
 1706.  
 John the son of Mr. Richard Jones was Baptized the 23 day of October 1707.  
 Philip the son of Mr. Richard Jones was baptized the 30<sup>th</sup> day of October 1709.  
 Jane the Daughter of Mr. Richard Jones was Buried the 25 day of February  
 1709.  
 John the son of Mr. Richard Jones was Buryed the 3 day of March 1709.

It will be noticed that of the six children recorded of Mr. Richard Jones, Philip was the only one to survive infancy. There were children recorded in the register round about this period as born to "Richard Jones, shoemaker," plain "Richard Jones," and "Richard Jones, junr.," but I do not think they need be confused with those of Philip's father, who, on the evidence, was always carefully distinguished as "Mr." There was a "Richard Jones" burd. on 23 Apl. 1734, affidavit being made by "Eliz. Homer" before "Hen. Wise," Justice; and another "Richard Jones" was buried 25 May 1769, but I have not been able to find wills for either of them. It seems very remarkable when we consider he belonged to Oxford, that Philip Jones resided in College through almost all the vacations: it suggests that his people were dead, or had gone elsewhere to live.

After 24 May 1736, when, as we have seen, he returned the vols. to Pembroke, Philip Jones vanishes into the unknown, except for his name appearing in the buttery books until 1742. I have found no record of when he took orders. To meet him again we have to leap forward nearly thirty years. In P.C.C. we find the following brief and informal will (Simpson 393):—

"Overbury. July 29<sup>th</sup> 1763. The settled Accompts with the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Bloxam and there appears on the Ballance due to me on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January last seven pounds fifteen and sixpence which sum and whatever money and Effects I shall die possessed of I give to the said Mr. Bloxam in a grateful sense & acknowledgment of the many favors & kindnesses from him & his family. Witness my Hand. PHILIP JONES."

27 Sept. 1764. William Davies, of Overbury, co. Worc., gent., and Susannah Heath, of the same, spinster, swore to writing of Philip Jones, late of Overbury, co. Worc., who died in August last.

3 Oct. 1764. Admon. of the goods, etc., of Philip Jones, of Overbury, co. Warwick [*sic*], decd., granted to Rev. Matthew Bloxham, clerk.

It will be noticed that neither in the will nor in the admon. is there any description of the testator to show his profession or occupation. But in the register of Overbury, under 1764, is this entry :—“ Philip Jones, Clerk, A.M., was buried August 20<sup>th</sup>.” And the Rev. Matthew Bloxam, whose kindness he acknowledges in his will, was Johnson’s old fellow-collegian at Pembroke, who had been Vicar of Overbury since 1743 (see *post*, Appendix G., p. 151-2). This leaves little doubt of the identity of the Rev. Philip Jones of Overbury with Johnson’s early friend. No doubt he was a curate under Bloxam, but unfortunately there seems no record of his appointment, or of how long he held it, either at Overbury or at the Diocesan Registry at Worcester. The Vicar of Overbury tells me that there are three outlying chapelries annexed to his church—Teddington, Alston, and Little Washbourne—which are 3½, 5 and 4½ miles respectively away, for which there has almost always been a chaplain or assistant curate, and that Philip Jones probably held this office.

I have found no other Philip Jones who might be he of Overbury. There was a Philip, son of Philip Jones, of Barnstaple, gent., who matric. 29 Mch. 1721, aged 18, from Hart Hall, Oxford, and a Philip, son of Edward Jones, of Lanafth, co. Cardigan, Esq., who matric. 5 May 1749, aged 19, from Queen’s Coll., Oxford ; but neither of these seems to have taken even his B.A. degree. And at Cambridge, down to 1765, only one Philip Jones matric., and he died in 1706 (Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, and inf. of Mr. J. A. Venn).

To sum up the evidence, there are the following reasons for concluding that the Rev. Philip Jones of Overbury, and the Rev. Philip Jones who was at Pembroke Coll. with Johnson, were one and the same person :—

- (1) That both were associated with the Rev. Matthew Bloxam.
- (2) That both proceeded M.A.
- (3) That both were dead in 1776.
- (4) That both were failures in the church.

- (5) That there was no other graduate of Oxford or Cambridge who can be confused with them.
- (6) That one seems to have been an only surviving child, and the other apparently without near relatives.

The first reason, under the circumstances, would satisfy most people, but it is well to show how it is corroborated by all the other facts.

It is a tribute to Bloxam that he should have extended so much kindness to his beer-loving old fellow-collegian, and equally to Philip Jones's credit that he should have expressed himself so grateful for it. Gratitude, is, indeed, a rarer virtue than kindness.

Clearly Johnson had kept himself acquainted, to some extent at least, with Philip Jones's career after leaving College, but whether it was by direct intercourse or correspondence, or merely by talk with common acquaintances, we do not know. Probably Johnson learned what he could of his old College friends whenever he visited Oxford.

## APPENDIX D.

### THE REV. JOHN FLUDGER

(See *ante*, pp. 10, 14-15)

FROM Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* we learn that John, son of John Fludyer, of Abingdon, Berks., gent., matric. 27 Nov. 1728, aged 16, from Pembroke College, and took his B.A. in 1732 and his M.A. in 1735. The historian of Pembroke tells us that John Fludyer was on the Wightwick foundation; and that his father was Mayor of Abingdon in 1722 and excused from serving in 1757 on account of his "great age" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 337). Boswell spells the name as do these authorities, but its owner used the hideous form of "Fludger."

Mr. L. F. Powell has kindly sent me a copy of his history as given in *MS. Rawlinson J. fol. 3, folio 121* (Bodleian Library):—

John Fludger, son of John Fludger, Tanner, by Elisabeth his wife of Abington in the County of Berks., born in the Parish of St. Hellen's in that Town on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1711-12 & educated in the free School there, was elected Scholar of Pembroke College in the University of Oxford on the Foundation of Richard Wightwick B.D. the 6<sup>th</sup> of November [1728 erased], matriculated 27 of the same Month & chosen Fellow of the same College the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1728. B.A. 8 June 1732. M.A. 19 April 1735; took Deacon's Orders at London from the Bp. of Winchester 21 March 1735, took Priest's from the same Bp. 11 April 1736; chosen Lecturer of St. John's Clerkenwell London Jan<sup>y</sup> 27, 1737, & Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, 1739 was presented by L<sup>d</sup> Chancellor Hardwick to the Rectory of St. Nicholas in Abington Berks., March 25, 1747 appointed Curate of Putney in Surry by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Holcombe at the Recommendation of the said Parish, October 12, 1751 appointed Chaplain to his Grace George Duke of St. Albans.

He hath publish'd a Preface containing some Reflections on the Deistical, Arian, & Socinian Notions concerning the Object of Worship; displaying the Nature of Prayer & Expediency of Forms & Vindicating the Service of our Church from the Popular Objections made against it. — Which Preface is prefixed to "A correct & familiar Exposition on the Common Prayer-Book of the Church of England, collected from the Works of Bp. Sparrow, Bp. Andrews, Bp. Beveridge, Bp. Pearson, Dr. Comber, Dr. Nichols, Dr. Bisse, etc., digested into one Folio. The whole compil'd by Divines of the Church of England. London printed 1739."

The Admission Book of Fellows at Pembroke College shows that John Fludger was elected 11 Dec. 1728 on the foundation of Richard Wightwick, in place of Mr. Eaton. The Buttery Books tell us that Fludger was transferred from the scholars to the fellows in the week beginning 6 Dec. 1728, and that he was in residence very regularly while Johnson was up. On 16 Apl. 1755 John Hopkins, M.A., was elected a Fellow in his place.

Mr. Powell says there is another account given in *MS. Rawlinson J. 4° 5*, folio 378, but it is shorter and agrees in all its particulars with the above, excepting spelling the name "Fludyer." He has found the "Proposals" for the above folio:—

Proposals for Printing by Subscription An Historical and Paraphrastical Exposition on the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England . . . . . By several Divines. To which will be prefix'd A Preface [etc., as above]. By John Fludger M.A. (Lecturer of St. John's Clerkenwell, and Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxon).

The work itself has the following title:—

A correct and familiar | Exposition | on the Common-Prayer-Book | of the | Church of England | collected from the | Works | of | Bishop Sparrow, |



Bishop Andrews, | Bishop Beveridge, | Bishop Pearson | Doctor Comber |  
 Doctor Nichols | Dr. Biss, and | Other Divines.

To which is prefix'd | A Preface, containing some Reflections on the |  
 Deistical, Arian, and Socinian Notions | concerning the Object of Worship : |  
 displaying the Nature of Prayer, and the | Expediency of Forms ; and vin-  
 dicating the | Service of our Church from the Popular | Objections made against  
 it. | By John Fludger, M.A. | Lecturer of St. John's Clerkenwell, and | Fellow  
 of Pembroke-College, Oxon. | London. Printed for the Compilers by | Thomas  
 Gardner in Bartholomew Close. | M.DCC.XXXIX.

Mr. Powell says it is a well-printed folio of over 1150 pages, of which the Preface occupies 16. The latter is signed "John Fludger," and dated London 1 Dec. 1738. Mr. Powell fails to find any internal evidence of his "Whiggism" at that date, but he finds it in a later work by him :—

The Judgment of God considered. In a sermon . . . . . occasioned by the late earthquakes. London, 1755, 4°.

The British Museum Catalogue attributes to him, with a query, two works of 1739, "By a Gentleman of the Temple," who, however, cannot have been the then Lecturer of Clerkenwell.

*The Gentleman's Magazine* has the following notices of him :—

1739. Nov. p. 606 (eccl. prefmts.)

Mr. *Fludger*, Lecturer of St. *John's*, Clerkenwell, — Rector of St. *Nicholas*, Abingdon, Berks.

1754. Nov. p. 531 (eccl. prefmts.)

Jn. Fludyer, A.M. — St. Sole's [*sic*] R. Oxford.

1756. May. p. 261. (mar.)

Rev. Mr. Fludger, rector of St. Aldate, Oxford, — to Miss Norton of Putney.

1773. Dec. p. 622 (died)

(Dec. 18) At Putney, the Rev. Thomas [*sic*] Fludyer, Rector [*sic*] of that parish.

"St. Sole's" is an error for "St. Tole's," which was the popular corruption of St. Aldate's, in Oxford, where, Mr. Powell tells me, Fludger was Rector from 19 Nov. 1754 until his death, being succeeded by William Seagrove on 16 Feb. 1774.

The following extracts from the parish register of Putney tell us some more of him :—

1756. May 4, mar. John Fludger, Clerk, of par. of Putney, co. Surrey, bach., and Rebecca Norton, of same par., spinster, by lic., by me, R. Petteward,

D.D. Signed, John Fludger, Rebecca Norton. Wits., Thos. Flowerdewe, John Williamson.

1773. Dec. 24, burd. John Fludger, M.A., Minister of the Parish of Putney.

1784. Oct. 8, burd. Rebecca Fludger.

He evidently made his home at Putney, the place with which Johnson associated him. The following is an abstract of his will, peculiar for its alphabetical clauses :—

JOHN FLUDGER, rector of St. Toles, Oxford, and at this time assistant curate to the *Rev. Dr. Newcome*, Dean of Rochester, and Curate of Putney. Will undated.

A. I am entitled to £300 Three Per Cent Bank Annuities, and I give £20 each to my friends *John Rose*, surgeon, and *Richard Astley*, surgeon, of Putney, "as a small testimony for the many singular favours and acts of kindness received from them." Signed, *John Fludger*. Wit., *Michael Turner*.

B. The banknote enclosed in this paper is the property of *Ann MacFarland*, aunt of *Mr. McFarland*, nailer in East Smithfield. Signed, 22 Nov. 1773, *John Fludger*, at Putney.

C. I bequeath to my wife *Rebecca*, all my household furniture, plate, linen, etc., in my house at Putney, except the bureau in my study, my silver tankard and silver watch, which I give to my nephew *Mr. Henry Fludger*, and "the annuity of £24 a year for 99 years payable at the Bank of England, and settled on *John Williamson*, Esq., and *Mr. John Norton*, in trust for my wife," shall be sold for £500 as agreed and that sum paid to my wife.

"Whereas I am possessed of an order of £20 a year payable at H.M.'s Exchequer, one moiety whereof is settled as part of my wife's jointure, I bequeath to her the other half, which same I have as assignee of *John de Cousemaker*, payable at *Lord Hardwick's Office* in the Exchequer between the hours of ten and one." Dated 23 Nov. 1773. Signed, *John Fludger*. Wits., *Michael Turner*, *Richard Astley*.

Codicil dated 13 Dec. 1773. I give my wife £200 out of the £649-12-4 Three % Bank Consolidated Annuities in hands of *John Williamson* and *John Norton*. Signed and witnessed as above.

On 7 Jany. 1774 *Michael Turner*, of Putney, Esq., and *John Norton*, of Gould Sq., Crutched Friars, merchant, swore to writing of deed., who died 18 Dec. last. On 8 Jany. 1774 admon. granted to *Rebecca Fludger*, relict, no exor. being named [P.C.C., Bargrave 11].

There were two Dr. Newcomes, Deans of Rochester—*John Newcome*, D.D., from 1744 to 1765, and *Benjamin Newcome*, D.D., from 1767 to 1775 (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*). But as *John Fludger's* will evidently belongs all to 1773, the Dr. Newcome to whom he was acting as assistant curate must have been *Benjamin*.

The will of *Rebecca Fludger*, of Putney, widow, dated 21 Aug.

1781, with codicils of 26 Dec. 1783 and 31 Dec. 1783, was proved 5 Oct. 1784 in P.C.C. [Rockingham 550], by John Turner, of Fleet Street, London, linendraper, the exor. It mentions her sister Susanna, wife of Michael Turner, Esq.; her god-dau. Rebecca Fludger, dau. of Mr. Henry Fludger, late of Fleet Street, grocer, and other relatives. The first codicil leaves £10-10-0 to John Rose, of Putney, Esq., for his attendance on her and care of her in her sickness.

The Putney registers show that Michael Turner, Esq., of Putney, widower, and Susannah Norton, of same, spinster, were mard. 14 Mch. 1765; and a tablet in the church tells us that he died 3 Apl. 1786, aged 85, and she 22 Apl. 1788, aged 76. His first wife had been Mary, dau. of George Tilden, Esq., and Rose his wife. It seems probable that Fludger married a middle-aged woman with some means.

## APPENDIX E.

### THE REV. JOHN MEEKE

(See *ante*, pp. 16-17)

JOHN, son of Anthony Meeke, of St. Mary's, Strand, London, gent., matric. 17 Dec. 1726, aged 17, from Pembroke College: he took his B.A. in 1730, his M.A. in 1733, and died a Fellow on 26 Sept. 1763 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). In 1734 he was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). "Mr. Meek, B.A., of Pembroke College, Oxon.," was a subscriber to Husbands's *Miscellany* in 1731. He was elected a Scholar in 1726. On the floor of the chancel of St. Aldate's at Oxford, there used to be an inscription:—"JOHANNES MEEK, A.M., Coll. Pembrochiæ Socius, Sept. 27, 1763" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 342, 512). His obituary is in *The Gentleman's Mag.* for 1763, p. 518:—" (Sept.) 26. Rev. Mr. Meeke of Pembroke-colleg, Oxf." On 19 June 1736 he was ordained deacon, and on 17 Sept. 1736, priest, at Oxford (information of Mr. J. Rose, Diocesan Registrar), but I have no record of his clerical preferments. His burial is thus

recorded in the register of St. Aldate's :—" 1763. Sep. 30<sup>th</sup>. Mr. John Meek of Pembroke Coll." (inf. of L. F. Powell).

The buttery books, where his name immediately precedes that of beer-loving Philip Jones (see *ante*, Appendix C., p. 130), in the list of scholars, shows him to have been in regular residence while Johnson was up, except during the summer vacation of 1729. He did not take his B.A. till Oct. 1730, nearly four years after entry; and he was transferred to the Fellows in Oct. 1731. The name of "John Meeke" is scribbled twice in the book for 1728-9, and once in the book for 1729-30 as "honest Jack Meek of E Pemb: Coll: Sch:." The Fellowship books show that John Meeke, B.A., was elected on 14 Oct. 1731, on the Tesdale foundation, in room of William Blandy, M.A., and that John Edwardes, M.A., was elected Fellow in his place on 16 Nov. 1763. On 18 Feb. 1735/6 he was acting as librarian of the College (see *ante*, Appendix C., p. 132).

Of his father we have pretty full information. Anthony Meeke and Elizabeth Price were married at Westminster Abbey on 21 Jany. 1685/6 (*Harleian Soc.*, X., 26). She was second dau. of Gervase Price, "Sergeant of the Office of Trumpets and Gentleman of the Bows to K. Chas. II.," and was burd. in the Abbey on 27 Nov. 1695, having had three daurs. baptized, and two of them buried, at St. Margaret's, Westminster (*ibid.*, X., 219, 238). On 14 Dec. 1697 a licence was issued for the marriage at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, of Mr. Anthony Meek, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, widower, about 35, and Elizabeth Cook, of same par., spinster, about 24 (Foster's *London Marriage Licences*). The marriage took place the same day. She was second dau. of John Cooke, who in 1681 had become Latin Secretary to Charles II., and she was burd. in the Abbey on 22 Feb. 1711/12, having had eleven children (*Harleian Soc.*, X., 229, 273, 327). Her father died 19 Sept. 1691, aged 77, and was burd. 21 Sept. 1691 in Westminster Abbey as "John Cooke, Esq." (*ibid.*, X., 229). When his dau. Venetia Cooke died on 22 Mch. 1732 he was described as "the Right Hon. Cook, Esq., Secretary of State in the Reign of King Charles II." (*Hist. Reg. Chron.*, 1732, p. 17), or as "Secretary of State to K. Ch. II." (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1732, p. 679).

Anthony Meeke, who appears to have been one of the Sewers of the Queen's Chamber in 1692 and 1707 (a "Sewer" was an official



who had the care of the table), died 6 (or 8) Feb. 1729/30, aged 73, and was burd. in the Abbey on 15 Feb. (*Harleian Soc.*, X., 327; *Hist. Reg. Chron.*, 1730, p. 17). The following is an abstract of his will :—

ANTHONY MEEK, of Philberts, co. Berks., Esq. Dated 3 Feb. 1729/30. As to the £2500, part of my late wife Elizabeth's marr. portion, which was to be settled on our sons and daus., I appoint same for my daus. *Elizabeth, Venetia, Mary, Lucia, Catherine* and *Grace Meek*, as also the rest of my estate not settled on my son *John Meek*, to be equally divided among them. Exors., daus. *Elizabeth* and *Venetia*. Signed, *Anth. Meeke*. Wits., *E. Cony, Eliz. Sharp, John Meek, Hen. Proctor*. Proved 6 July 1732 in P.C.C. (Bedford 191), by *Elizabeth Meeke*, spinster, *Venetia Meeke* renouncing. On 26 Apl. 1788 admon. of the goods, etc., of *Anthony Meeke*, late of St. George the Martyr, co. M'sex, decd., was granted to *Catherine Meeke*, spinster, the sd. *Elizabeth* dying intestate without fully administering, and *Venetia Meeke* dying without taking upon her the execution thereof.

The will of his son does not do much to reveal his personality :—

JOHN MEEKE, of Bray, co. Berks., Esq. Dated 6 Jany. 1737/8. To my six own sisters, *Elizabeth, Venetia, Mary, Lucia, Catherine* and *Grace Meeke*, all my estate of Filburts, co. Berks., in par. of Bray, and all other my goods and chattels. Exors., sisters *Elizabeth* and *Venetia*. Signed, *John Meeke*. Wits., *Wm. Crawley, Elizabeth Sheford*. Admon. granted 15 Feb. 1764 in P.C.C. [Simpson 60], to *Katherine Meeke*, spinster, sister of decd., *Elizabeth* and *Venetia Meeke* the extrices. named, renouncing.

It is clear from the evidence that John Meeke, like his six surviving sisters, was a child of his father's second marriage, and that therefore he was a grandson of John Cooke, Latin Secretary to Charles II., and a classic by heredity. No child of Anthony Meeke's first marriage would seem to have survived. The following will throws a little more light on the family :—

MARY KIRKE, of St. Martin's in the Fields, co. M'sex. Dated 25 July 1753. I desire to be privately burd. in the south walk of the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, as near Dean's Yard as can be. My funeral to be late, to avoid crowds ; I would not have any gentleman to hold up my pall, and nothing more than a hearse to carry my body, and one mourning coach to carry *Elizabeth Cox*, my upper servant, and any other three persons who are inclined to see me interred. Soon after, a white marble stone to be laid over me with only my name and the time of my death. All money I am entitled to by mortgage from *Mrs. Venetia Cooke*, I give to my nephew *John Meeke*, and my nieces *Elizabeth, Venetia, Mary, Lucy, Katherine* and *Grace Meeke*. To *Lady Harry Beauclerk*, the picture of *Lady Henrietta Vere*. To *Mr. William Kay*, attorney-at-law, £31-10-0. To my servant, *Hannah Hayward*, 10 guineas. To my late servant, *Thomas Baxter*,

£20. All my freehold houses and lands in Charing Cross, par. of St. Martin's in the Fields, to Mr. John Lambert and my upper servant Elizabeth Cox (and make them exors.), to sell same and pay what is due on mortgage to Lady Elizabeth Germain, and residue to sd. Elizabeth Cox, as well as all my furniture, pictures, plate, etc. Signed, Mary Kirke. Wits., Christian Leslie, Thomas Lislie, Leonard Dickenson. Proved 16 Dec. 1754 in P.C.C. [Pinfold 332], by the exors.

This testator was the third and youngest dau. of John Cooke, and had married Col. George Kirke on 10 Feb. 1699/1700. She died 15 Dec. 1754, and was burd. in the Abbey on 23 Dec. (*Harleian Soc.*, X., 387).

In a letter of Horace Walpole's to George Montagu, dated 3 Oct. 1763, he recounts his attempt to call on an unknown correspondent, Sir Thomas Reeves, who lived two miles from Maidenhead—no doubt "Sir Thomas Reeves Bart.," who died 6 May 1777 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1777, p. 247):—

After being carried to three wrong houses, I was directed to a very ancient mansion, composed of timber, and looking as unlike modern habitations, as the picture of Penderel's house in Clarendon. The garden was overrun with weeds, and with difficulty we found a bell. Louis came riding back in great haste, and said, "Sir, the gentleman is dead suddenly." You may imagine I was surprised—however, as an acquaintance I had never seen was a very endurable misfortune, I was preparing to depart, but happening to ask some women, that were passing by the chaise, if they knew any circumstance of Sir Thomas's death, I discovered that this was not Sir Thomas's house, but belonged to a Mr. Meake, a fellow of a college at Oxford, who was actually just dead, and that the antiquity itself had formerly been the residence of Nel Gwyn (*Walpole's Letters*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, V., 375).

An account of the "manor of Cresswell, or Philberds," says that "during the 18th century it was held of them [the Dean and Canons of Westminster] by the Meeke family, who sold their lease about 1780 to Mr. Fuller" (*Victoria County History of Berkshire*, III., 101). "Old Philberts," with its memories of the lively Nell Gwynn, and the considerably less lively Mr. Meeke, was destroyed towards the end of the eighteenth century (*ibid.*, III., 96).

It will be noticed that John Meeke is described in his will as "Esq.," though he had taken orders over a year earlier. I am told that this is not very uncommon. The state of his garden, as described by Horace Walpole, may perhaps be some index to his character, for he had not the excuse of old age for such neglect.

APPENDIX F.  
OLIVER EDWARDS(See *ante*, pp. 23-4)

THE following are the actual facts we can derive from Boswell's pages concerning this worthy. On Good Friday, 17 Apl. 1778, when Johnson was returning with Boswell from morning service at St. Clement Danes, he was accosted in Butcher Row, "with familiar confidence," by "a decent-looking elderly man in grey clothes, and a wig of many curls." Johnson did not at first recognise him, but when Edwards ("for it indeed was he," as the stories used to tell us) "brought to his recollection their having been at Pembroke-College together nine-and-forty years ago," he was pleased and interested, and as they walked along Edwards's name came back to his memory and the circumstances of their once "drinking together at an alehouse near Pembroke gate," and discussing Latin verses. In his diary Johnson recorded that Edwards "had not seen me since —29."

"Mr. Edwards informed Dr. Johnson that he had practised long as a solicitor in Chancery, but that he now lived in the country upon a little farm, about sixty acres, just by Stevenage in Hertfordshire, and that he came to London (to Barnard's Inn, No. 6), generally twice a week." When they had got back to Johnson's house in Bolt Court, Edwards told him that he was not rich from long practice of the law: he had "got a good deal of money," but had given a great part away to poor relations, so that he had not much to leave. He wished that he had "continued at College," for then "I should have had a much easier life than mine has been. I should have been a parson, and had a good living, like Bloxam and several others, and lived comfortably." He had "been twice married," and was now sixty-five. He observed how many they had outlived. Johnson promised to visit him at his farm, and remarked "how wonderful it was that they had both been in London forty years, without having ever once met, and both walkers in the street too!" Boswell "thought him but a weak man"; yet Johnson liked his frank and ready talk, in spite of his having "passed through life without experience." On 13 Apl. 1781, Good Friday again, Boswell accompanied Johnson to St. Clement



Danes once more and met Edwards. Johnson said there had been "very little communication between Edwards and him, after their unexpected renewal of acquaintance," though he had purposed differently ; but he had sent him a set of *The Rambler*, which Edwards had heard of as "a very pretty book." Edwards was evidently a plain man, of restricted interests and imagination, but with a real love of country life, who required "regular meals, and a glass of good wine," and could not go to bed without his supper. He was natural and made no pretensions, so Johnson, as with all such people, was "cordial and placid" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 302-7, IV., 90 ; *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 83-4).

To this information we can add, from Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, that Oliver, son of Francis Edwards, of ———, Wilts., gent., matric. from Pembroke College, 25 June 1729, aged 18. One would gather from this that the name of the place where Francis Edwards lived when his son was born was indecipherable in the matriculation register, but as a matter of fact it was never given—only "*e com. Wilt.*" Chance alone provided me with a clue from an old catalogue of deeds—F. Marcham's *Rough List of Deeds, etc., relating to Sussex, etc.* (No. 2)—in the following item :—

DEVIZES. William Bibbye, of Kingstone, in Jamaica, and Rachael his wife ; and Thomas Weales, D.D., of Hammersmith, and Frances, his wife (sd. Rachael and Frances being daus. and co-heirs of Sarah, the late wife of Harry Stibbs, of Jamaica, which sd. Sarah was one of the daus. of Francis Edwards, of Devizes) ; and William Cook, of Devizes, and Charles Garth, of Bishop Cannings. Lease and release, 21 and 22 April 1778, of mess. in Short Street. Sigs. of *Rachael Bibbye, and Thomas and Frances Weales.* (2) 10s. 6d.

A little research duly showed that our Oliver was the son of Francis, of Devizes, of whose will the following is an abstract :—

FRANCIS EDWARDS, of Devizes. co Wilts., gent. Dated 27 Mch. 1746. To my son *Oliver Edwards* and his wife, 10 guineas each, my largest silver tankard, and his picture, and the pictures of me and my late wife. To my son *Francis Edwards* and his wife, 10 guineas each, and his own picture, and to his son *Francis*, a silver tankard. To my said sons my messuage in par. of St. Mary, Devizes, where my dau. *Joyce Smith*, widow, now dwells and £50, in trust for my sd. dau. while a widow, and after her death to her children ; and another £50 in trust for her sons. To grand-dau. *Joyce Smith* £10. To son *Francis* and *Mr. John Richards*, of Devizes, apothecary, my new built freehold messuage where I now dwell in the Brittox, Devizes, and a small freehold tenement I lately built in



Short Street, to the use of my three daus., *Lucy Edwards*, *Ann Edwards* and *Eleanor Edwards*, for one year, and then to the use of my dau. *Sarah*, wife of *Harry Stibbs*, for life, with remainder to her sons. To my dau. *Lucy Edwards*, my freehold messuage and land in Polshott [Poulshot], co. Wilts., and my freehold ground called Short Furlong, in Polshott, all which I lately bought. To my daus. *Ann* and *Eleanor*, my freehold messuage called the Dairy House, and land, in Steeple Ashton, co. Wilts., with pasture land there and in Tinhead and Edington, co. Wilts., and my two freehold meadows at Crane Hill, par. of Rowde, co. Wilts., and the tithes of the Marsh Grounds, and my freehold close called the Paddock, in Bedborough, par. of Bishop Cannings, co. Wilts., all which I lately bought. To my bror. *Mark Edwards*, £20. To my son-in-law, *Harry Stibbs*, 10 guineas. Resid. legatees and extrices., my daus. *Lucy*, *Ann* and *Eleanor Edwards*. Signed, *Francis Edwards*. Wits., *Hen. Hayes*, *Wm. Noyes*, *John Sayer*. Proved 16 Sept. 1748, in Consistory Court of Sarum [now at Somerset House], VI., 228, by the extrices. named.

A search in the register of St. Mary's, Devizes, made for me by Mr. Edward Kite, an experienced local antiquary, showed that Francis, son of Oliver Edwards and Joan his wife, was bapt. there 3 Mch. 1677/8. This Oliver had more children bapt. there, the last being Lucy, dau. of Oliver Edwards and Joan his wife, in 1697. Francis Edwards had children bapt. there, Sarah, on 16 Dec. 1707; Lucy, on 18 Mch. 1709/10; *Oliver*, on 14 Apl. 1711; Elinor, on 13 Mch. 1717/18; Francis, on 3 Apl. 1719; and another Francis on 25 June 1720. The first three are described simply as children "of Francis Edwards," the last three as "of Francis and Joyce Edwards." So it would not have been clear that Joyce was mother of Sarah, Lucy and Oliver, if Mr. Kite had not, by a happy chance, and some time afterwards, found the marriage of Francis Edwards, of St. Mary's, Devizes, and Joyce Hitchins, on 15 Nov. 1703, at Great Sherston, in North Wilts., and some eighteen miles from Devizes. The baptisms of his daus. Joyce and Ann do not appear at Devizes. "Joyce, wife of Francis Edwards," was burd. there 5 Nov. 1732; and "Francis Edwards" on 5 June 1748. Thomas, son of Mark and Sarah Edwards, was bapt. 13 Aug. 1716; and Oliver, son of Mark Edwards, on 30 Apl. 1718.

Mr. Kite tells me that Oliver Edwards, presumably our friend's grandfather, signed a local address of congratulation to William III., on his narrow escape from assassination, in Feb. 1695/6. Of Francis he finds that he voted as a freeholder at the election of 1705; on

29 July 1715 was appointed, as a parishioner of St. Mary's, one of the twelve new feoffees of the property of the church; and was churchwarden of St. Mary's in 1731. "The Brittox," where he had built his house, is one of the main streets of Devizes. Only a small part of it is in the par. of St. Mary's, and Mr. Kite thinks he can identify the very house, set back from the street and now used, in conjunction with a more modern building, as a pastry-cook's and confectioner's. It is not, however, absolutely certain from the evidence that Francis Edwards's house in The Brittox was in the par. of St. Mary's.

Oliver Edwards's name first appears among the Commoners, in the Buttery Books, on 20 June 1729, five days before his matriculation, but no normal charge is entered against it until 3 Oct. Thenceforward he seems to have been in continuous residence, with the exception of two or three weeks, until 24 Apl. 1730, after which he does not occur again, so that he was only some seven months in residence altogether, and contemporary with Johnson only about ten weeks. He paid his £7 caution money on 9 Oct. 1729; it was repaid to him on 2 May 1730.

His career, after he thus left Pembroke College in Apl. 1730, is veiled in obscurity. But I have an original deed of 7 June 1744, by which Philip Henshaw, of Bussock Court, co. Berks., leased certain property called Billingham, in the par. of Dunsfold, co. Surrey, to Oliver Edwards, of the Six Clerks Office, co. M'sex., gent., for a year; and a lease and release, dated 13 and 14 Sept. 1751, of the same property at Dunsfold, by Oliver Edwards, of the Six Clerks Office, in Chancery Lane, London, gent., to Betty Tulett, of Dunsfold, widow, the consideration being £250, and Oliver's signature being witnessed by Wm. Newnam and F. Edwards. Both these deeds I purchased years ago from F. Marcham, and for long I tried, but without success, to get evidence proving that Oliver Edwards of the Six Clerks Office was Johnson's friend. That there seemed little room for doubt on the point was not sufficient. It was only by comparing the signature on the deeds with his signature on his second marriage in 1771, of which the Rector of Shephall kindly sent me a tracing, that the small element of doubt was removed.

Of Oliver Edwards's first wife, mentioned in his father's will of 27 Mch. 1746, I have no information. But on 22 Mch. 1771, Oliver Edwards, Esq., of the par. of St. Andrew, Holborn, widower, and

Katherine Nodes, of the par. of Shephall, co. Herts., widow, were married at Shephall, under lic. from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by George Baddelley, D.D., Vicar—another Pembroke man\*—the wits. being John Marsh and E. Baddelley, A.M. The bride was widow of John Nodes [1705-61], of Shephalbury, Esq. (Robert Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, II., 433), and dau. of Lewis Vaslet, a Frenchman by birth, who became a naturalized Englishman and for 45 years was a schoolmaster, dying at Fulham and being burd. there. Lewis Vaslet mard., first, Mary, dau. of Claude Barachin—she died 10 Jany. 1704/5 ; and, second, Catherine, dau. of Charles Testard—she died 29 Apl. 1730, aged 56. Catherine, "*Vidua Johannis Noades et Oliveri Edwards Armigeri*," died 10 Sept. 1766 (this must be an error for 1796†), aged 90, and was burd. at Fulham, where she is commemorated on the Vaslet tombstone (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, VIII., 455-6). She was evidently the dau. of Catherine Testard. It is rather curious that the Hon. Charles Hervey [1703-83], brother to Johnson's friend Harry Hervey (see *post*, p. 245) and his successor in the living of Shotley, had been to a school at Hampstead kept by Lewis Vaslet (*Suffolk Green Books*, by Rev. S. H. A. Hervey, XVI. (2), 332). Vaslet's school at Fulham was still in existence in 1813, after nearly a century of life, under the name of "Burlington House School" (Thomas Faulkner's *Fulham*, 1813, p. 264).

An item from F. Marcham's *List of Middlesex Deeds*, Vol. I., part 2, p. 26, undoubtedly refers to our Oliver :—

Lease, 24 March 1787. Robert, bishop of London, and Oliver Edwards, of Holborn Court, Gray's Inn. Land & prem. late the Windmill in Fulham Fields. With *plan*. Sig. and seal of *Oliver Edwards*. 6s. 6d.

There is no mention of Oliver Edwards in the Admission Books of Attorneys, either Common Pleas or King's Bench side, from 1729 to 1751 ; and his name does not appear in the List of Attornies, in *Browne's Law Lists*, until he was over seventy :—

1782. Oliver Edwards, Lyon's Inn, 4.

1787. Oliver Edwards (King's Bench) Staple Inn.

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\* George, son of George Baddelley, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, *pleb.*, matric. 15 July 1743, from Pembroke Coll., aged 17 ; B.A. 1747 [Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*].

† Mr. Macrae tells me that she signed the accounts of the Shephall Charities, as "Kath. Edwards," down to 4 Jany. 1795.



1789 & 1790. Oliver Edwards (King's Bench) Lyon's Inn, 2, and Holborn Court, Gray's Inn, 8.

His name does not appear again, as he died early in 1791. The following is an abstract of his will :—

OLIVER EDWARDS, of Sheephall Bury, co. Herts., gent. Dated 10 Jan. 1791. My freehold messuages and lands in Rowd, Edington and Steple Ashton, co. Wilts., which descended to me as heir-at-law to my sister *Ann Thompson*, widow of *George Thompson*,\* to my nephew *Robert Smith*, of Gray's Inn, Esq., *Richard Walter Forbes*, of Southampton Bldgs., St. Andrew, Holborn, attorney-at-law, and *Edward Bird*, of Twickenham, co. M'sex, gent., to sell and pay following legacies :—To *Mrs. Elizabeth Baker*, now residing at *John Hunt's*, Esq., at Compton Pauncefort, nr. Sherborne, Dorset, £100, and to her sister *Ann Baker*, a teacher at *Mrs. Lewis's* Boarding School, in or near Exeter, co. Devon, £100, being daus. and only surviving children of *Rev. Francis Baker*, of Castle Carey, co. Som., decd. To *Mary Reynolds*, late *Baudry*, dau. of — *Baudry*, formerly of Marriage Park, co. Wilts., £50. To three children of cousin *Mark Edwards*, formerly of Tilbury Fort, £20 each. To niece *Joyce Evans*, widow, dau. of late sister, *Joice Smith*, £20. To nephew *Francis Edwards*, son of bror. *Francis*, £100, and to his three children, £100 each, and to his wife, £50. To children of nephew, *Charles Smith*, £20 each. All my lands in Otterden, Newisham [? Newnham], Doddington, Bricknor [Bicknor], and Bredgar, co. Kent, subject to an estate for life of part thereof to my wife *Catherine*, to my nephew *Robert Smith* and his issue, with contingent remainders, in default of issue, to my nephew *Charles Smith* and his three children. My tenement called *Waterman's Arms*, in Thames Street, London, and another messuage in that street, to said *Robert Smith* and my other trustees, to provide for education of *Ann* and *Mary Smith*, daus. of sd. nephew *Charles*, till age of 21, and then same to them ; if they die before, the same to my nephew *Robert Smith*. My freehold and copyhold messuages and lands in Sheephall, co. Herts. (the copyhold I have surrendered to the use of my will), to sd. trustees for use of my wife *Catherine* for life, with contingent remainders to nephew *Charles Smith* and children of my brother *Francis Edwards*. My messuages and lands at Bromham, co. Wilts., which I hold by lease of *Sir Edward Baynton*, of Spy Park, Bromham, to trustees, for use of great-nieces, *Ann* and *Mary Smith* afsd., that is to pay them each £5 a year, and *Elizabeth* and *Ann Baker* to have residue of profits. Messuage called *Waterman's Arms*, at Isleworth, co. M'sex, and three messuages at Old Oak,

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\* Mr. Kite has found the following in an old catalogue of deeds :—" Deed between George Thompson, of Maidstone, co. Kent, and Eleanor Edwards, late of Devizes, co. Wilts., but then of Maidstone, spinster. Relates to land, and farm, and dairy, at Steeple Ashton, in Wilts., in the tenure of John Line. With the signatures of George Thompson, and Eleanor Edwards." Dated 1754. This gives an interesting clue to the dwelling place of Oliver Edwards's sisters after their father's death, especially as it was Ann, not Eleanor Edwards, who married George Thompson.



East Acton, co. M'sex, to nephew *Charles Smith*, and leasehold estate at Fulham, co. M'sex, whereon a windmill formerly stood, to sd. nephew *Charles Smith*. My two messuages in Bermondsey Street, St. Olave's, Southwark, to sd. niece *Joyce Smith* [sic], dau. of sister *Joice Smith*, and after her death to nephew *Charles Smith*. Father's tankard to nephew *Robert Smith*. To bror.'s grand-dau. *Ann Edwards*, my watch. Resid. legatees, wife, and nephew *Robert Smith*. Exors., wife, *Robert Smith*, and my other trustees. Signed, *Oliver Edwards*. Wits., *Henry Symonds*, *Richard Thorold*, *George Goodwin*. Proved 5 Feb. 1791, by the exors., except *Edward Bird*, to whom power is reserved [P.C.C. Bevor 65].

Evidently *Oliver Edwards*, who was close on 80, died on his wife's estate of Shephalbury, in the par. of Shephall. Her first husband was Lord of the Manor of Shephall, and his will, dated 31 Oct. 1761, and proved 21 Jany. 1762 in P.C.C. [St. Eloy 22], by his widow *Katherine* and two other exors., describes him as *John Nodes*, of Sheephallbury, par. of Sheephall, co. Herts., Esq. ; it does not interest us except for mentioning the plate left his wife by her aunt, Mrs. *Margaret Deffray*. *Oliver Edwards* left no children, as his will shows, and of his step-children (who are not even mentioned therein) only one seems to have left issue :—*Margaret Mary Nodes*, who married *Richard Price*, of *Knebworth*, Esq., on 11 Mch. 1778, at Shephall, and had an only child, *Catherine Nodes Price*, born 15 and bapt. 28 Jany. 1785 at St. George-the-Martyr, London, on whom they settled the Manor of Shephall on 16 Jany. 1806, and who married *Jacques Clement de Warburg* and in 1838 sold the Manor, and the 2/3 of the estate inherited from her mother, to *Samuel Heathcote Unwin Heathcote*, whose descendants are still in possession (*Richard Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire*, II., 432-3 ; *Victoria County History of Hertfordshire*, II., 444 ; *John Edwin Cussans's Hertfordshire*, "Hundred of Broadwater," 1877, p. 103).

What position *Oliver Edwards* held in the Six Clerks Office does not appear. He certainly was not one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, whose names are known.\* There seems some little mystery about his

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\* In early times the Six Clerks in Chancery were the only persons allowed to practise in the Court of Chancery. When the business increased, each of the Six had Sworn Clerks, or Clerks in Court, appointed under him, who gradually came to transact all the business themselves. Later on the business devolved on the Solicitors of the Court, who, however, still had to employ the names of the Sworn Clerks (*Notes and Queries*, 9<sup>th</sup> Series, II., 233). *Oliver Edwards*, no doubt, was just one of the Solicitors of the Court.

professional record, and it is curious that though, according to Boswell, he occupied No. 6 Barnard's Inn in 1778, his name does not appear in the law list already quoted until 1782.

It is, of course, humanly interesting to know something of this worthy old lawyer, whose naïve remarks are almost classic a century and a half after they were uttered. But perhaps the information I have collected has its principal value in the proof it affords of Boswell's extraordinary accuracy in reporting the most trivial conversations. The little property on which he lived near Stevenage is now a reality—Shephalbury is but two miles from that town. Moreover Mr. Macrae, the Rector of Shephall, tells me that the area of the present park of Shephalbury is "about 60 acres," the area Boswell gave; it was a home farm until the present mansion was erected in 1865. The poor relations—in the shape of nephews and nieces to provide for—are sufficiently evidenced by his will. His curtailed career at College is proved by the Buttery Books (*ante*, p. 24); and his being "a solicitor in Chancery" shown by his connexion with the Six Clerks Office. That he was twice married is a genealogical fact. That "Bloxam" was one of his contemporaries at College, and had got "a good living," we know to be so (see *post*, Appendix G., p. 153). It is true that Oliver's age was sixty-seven and not sixty-five, but that may have been his own miscalculation. How many biographers, especially at that time, were so scrupulous as to the facts of their own heroes' lives: how few would have troubled to report the casual conversation of an unimportant stranger so conscientiously as to exclude even trivial error, and yet in a manner so dramatic as would have won excuse for a considerable departure from strict accuracy. It would be difficult to provide a better test than this of Boswell's absolute fidelity in the smallest details of his work.

Had Oliver Edwards lived some five months longer he might have read of himself and his sayings in Boswell's great biography, though what endears him to us to-day would probably have made him extremely indignant.

## APPENDIX G.

## THE REV. MATTHEW BLOXAM

(See *ante*, pp. 15, 62)

If good old Oliver Edwards had failed to regret to Johnson, in 1778, that he had not continued at College, "been a parson, and had a good living, like Bloxam and several others," there would have been no record outside the College books of this said Bloxam having been their contemporary at Pembroke.

From Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* we learn that Matthew, son of Anthony Bloxam, of "Merrydown," co. Warwick, gent., matric. 26 Mch. 1729, aged 18, from Pembroke College, taking his B.A. in 1732 and his M.A. in 1735 [11 July]. The Buttery Books show that "Matthæus Bloxam" first appears therein on 21 Mch. 1728/9, as a scholar, and that, barring the summer vacations, he lived very regularly in College until 1731; and no doubt he continued his steady attendance until he had taken his degree. He paid his £7 caution money on 25 Mch. 1729; it was repaid to him on 17 July 1735. For some twenty-two weeks he must have been in co-residence with Johnson, and well acquainted with him. "Matthew, y<sup>e</sup> son of Mr. Anthony Bloxam and Sarah his wife," was bapt. 13 Jany. 1710/11 at Meriden (information of Vicar). The family pedigree (for extracts from which I am much indebted to Mr. Richard Bloxam, of Ealing, his brother Richard's descendant) shows him as eldest son of Anthony Bloxam [1684-1752], of Aston-sub-Edge, co. Glouc., where his ancestors had been settled since the 16th century. Anthony mard. in 1708 Sarah, third dau. of Matthew Holbeche, of Meriden Hall; hence his eldest son's Christian name and birthplace. Among the Buttery Book (1730-31) scribblings is this suggestion of an undergraduate romance:—"Mr. Bloxam in Love with Kitty Banks."

Matthew Bloxam was instituted Vicar of Overbury, co. Worc., 2 July 1743, the patrons being the Dean and Chapter of Worcester (Nash's *Worcestershire*, II., 236). In 1746 he became perpetual curate of Ashchurch, co. Glouc., on presentation of John Parsons, Esq., being succeeded in 1768 by John Darke, M.A. (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, "Ashchurch"). Mr. Roland Austin tells me that Bloxam,

"now to be licensed to the cure of Ashchurch," subscribed to the articles on 11 July 1747 (not 1746). The Rev. W. Lea, the present Vicar of Overbury, tells me that John Darke (see Appendix J., p. 186) was instituted Vicar on 12 July 1768, and presumes that Bloxam continued there till that date, and that Bloxam, and then Darke, held the two livings of Overbury and Ashchurch in plurality. It was while at Overbury that Bloxam extended so much kindness to his and Johnson's old College friend, Philip Jones (see *ante*, Appendix C., p. 134).

In 1768 he was presented to the rectory of Bourton-on-the-Hill, co. Glouc., by Thomas Kemble, Esq., and held it till 1784 (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, "Bourton-on-the-Hill"; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1768, Feb., p. 95). He signed the registers there from 1768 to 1783 (information of present Vicar). Mr. Austin tells me he was admitted to Bourton on 8 Mch. 1768, and resigned on 5 Mch. 1784. On 25 June 1779 he was instituted to the rectory of Barwell, co. Leic., in succession to Samuel Ashby, on the presentation of Elizabeth Ashby, Sir Roger Newdigate, bart., and Thomas Bloxam, and held it till his death in 1786 (Nichols's *Leicester*, IV., 478). Samuel Ashby, who had been Rector since 1756 and died 23 Oct. 1778, aged 54 (*ibid.*, IV., 479), and was patron of the living, had married Bloxam's niece Elizabeth Bloxam [1738-1810], who thus, with his brother Thomas Bloxam [1719-91], Steward to Lord Bagot, presented Matthew Bloxam.

In the churchyard of Hanwell, co. M'sex, is (or was), a tomb with this inscription (*ibid.*, IV., 480) :—

In the vault beneath | are the earthly remains of | Matthew Bloxam,  
M.A. | rector of Bourton on the Hill | in the county of Gloucester ; | who died  
in this parish | the 21st day of August, 1786, | in the 76<sup>th</sup> year of his age. | His  
conduct through life | evinced the benignity of a disposition | that procured him  
the esteem of all who knew him.

The will of the Rev. Matthew Bloxam, late of Bourton-on-the-Hill, co. Glouc., but now of Greenford, co. M'sex, clerk, is dated 26 Oct. 1781. He bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, and her heirs, all his messuages and lands, and all his goods, and makes her his extrix. The wits. are Jegon Wellard [of Dover and Hanwell, who had mard. his dau. Elizabeth Bloxam], Mary Horsefield, and Michael Elwin. It was proved 6 Dec. 1786, by the widow, in P.C.C. (Norfolk 599).



In the possession of the late Rev. Malcolm Wynne, Rector of Allington, co. Linc., his direct descendant, was a silver cake basket, thus inscribed :—"Presented by his Parishioners | To the Rev. Matthew Bloxam, M.A. | Rector of Bourton on the Hill | A.D. 1781." He evidently ceased to reside there after 1781, in spite of having signed the registers till 1783, and went to live with, or near, his dau. Mrs. Wellard. Greenford is little more than a mile from Hanwell. It is curious how the rectory of Bourton predominated over his other preferments : even though he had resigned from it over two years before his death it appears on his tombstone to the exclusion of Barwell, which he held to the last. Bourton must have been the "good living" which Oliver Edwards envied him in 1778, for Barwell he did not get till next year. *Crockford* for 1926 gives the present net income of Bourton on the Hill as £632 ; of Barwell, as £700 ; of Ashchurch as £332 ; and of Overbury as £311.

The Rev. Matthew Bloxam married Elizabeth, dau. by his first wife of Henry Turner, alderman of Worcester. By her, who died 27 Aug. 1795, aged 77, and was burd. at Hanwell, he had nine children : the eldest, or perhaps second son was Sir Matthew Bloxam, bapt. 10 Aug. 1744 at Overbury, knighted 19 June 1800, sometime M.P. for Maidstone and Sheriff of London, died 16 Oct. 1822, and burd. at Hanwell. The Rev. Matthew's brother, Richard Bloxam [1712-76], of Hinckley, surgeon, was father of Richard Bloxam [1741-1825], of Alcester, surgeon, whose son the Rev. Richard Rouse Bloxam [1765-1840] was father of Matthew Holbeche Bloxam [1805-88] of *Gothic Architecture* fame.

## APPENDIX H.

### PEMBROKE COLLEGE BUTTERY BOOKS\*

(See *ante*, pp. 45-63)

*All members of the College referred to in this Appendix can be identified in Appendix J. (post, pp. 180-213).*

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\* The condensed substance of this Appendix I embodied in two letters to *The Times Literary Supplement*, for 16 Sept. 1926 and 15 Sept. 1927.

THE inconclusive results that had come from previous examination of the buttery books, by Dr. George W. Hall, at that time Master (on behalf of Croker), Dr. Birkbeck Hill, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, and Professor Chandler, over a period of some sixty years, spurred me to make an effort to solve the problems that had confronted them in their endeavour to discover the truth as to the length of Johnson's actual residence in College.

The buttery books are large and somewhat unwieldy volumes which record the charges, week by week, against members of the College, for food and drink, and also, as we shall see, certain fines. Each volume covers one year, and the four volumes which contain Johnson's name run from 14 June 1728 to 13 June 1729, 20 June 1729 to 12 June 1730, 19 June 1730 to 11 June 1731, and 18 June 1731 to 16 June 1732. Each page is  $28\frac{3}{4}$  inches tall and 10 inches in width, but the entries for each week run right across the two pages as the book lies open, so that each face of entries measures  $28\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 20 inches. At the extreme left-hand side the names of all the College members on the books are entered in a vertical column in order of seniority, followed by the College servants. And the list of names being too long to go on one page, the person who made it out each week had to turn over and put the remaining names overleaf, so that each week's entries actually cover four pages, or a space equal to  $57\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 20 inches.

The College week runs from Friday to Thursday, as I shall show later on (p. 172), and bears the date of the Friday on which it begins. So it must be understood that, in this Appendix, when I refer to a charge as on a certain date, I only mean a charge which fell in the week beginning on that date. It is important to bear this in mind.

The lists of members always run in the following order :—

- (1) "*Mr. Vicemgerens*," the Vicegerent, whose name is never given, though as he was chosen from among the fellows, and was usually the senior fellow, his identity can be discovered by tracing the disappearance and re-appearance of a senior fellow's name each year in October, when the appointment was at that time made (see *ante*, Appendix B., pp. 127-8).
- (2) *Fellows*, distinguished as "*Mr*" or "*Ds*," according to whether they were M.A. or B.A.
- (3) *Scholars*, who are "*Mr*" or "*Ds*," or without a prefix at all, as, unlike gentlemen commoners, commoners and servitors, they still kept their original rank after graduation.
- (4) *Doctors*, distinguished all as "*Dr*," whether D.D. or M.D.

- (5) *Masters of Arts*, all with prefix of "Mr."
- (6) *Gentlemen Commoners*, also all with prefix of "Mr."
- (7) *Bachelors of Arts*, with the prefix "Ds" (*Dominus*), drawn from the gentlemen commoners, commoners and servitors.
- (8) *Commoners*, with no prefix to their names.
- (9) *Battellers*, likewise without prefix.
- (10) *Servitors*, likewise without prefix. These two groups, of battellers and servitors, are hard to distinguish, for though battellers seem always to be admitted to the upper group and servitors to the lower, it is quite common for battellers to be reduced afterwards to the lower group, and less common for servitors to be raised to the upper (without having paid the extra £1 caution money).\* I have found no explanation of this. In deciding which men were battellers and which servitors I have had to rely upon the caution book (see *post*, Appendix J., p. 176).
- (11) *College Servants*, who do not concern us in this enquiry.

In each group the men are placed in order of seniority, though of course with constant changes going on, and men being moved from one group to another, discrepancies occur sometimes. A space is normally left between each group, but as names are often added at the foot (showing that the lists were written up at the beginning of the week and the extra names inserted at any time during the ensuing six days), this space is frequently filled up, making the groups harder to distinguish. Throughout the lists, Christian names are never given, except on the week of entry, so that in a number of cases a man's identity has to be deduced from his seniority, which enables us to distinguish men of the same surname, who are not distinguished by their rank or degree.

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\* Maclean, quoting the statutes, speaks of "servitors, whether scholars or batellers" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 189). Salmon, in 1744, in his *Present State of the Universities*, I., 423-4, thus describes the different grades at Oxford:—"Undergraduates consisting of Noblemen, Gentlemen-Commoners, Commoners, Scholars of the Foundation, Exhibitioners, Battlers and Servitors. . . . The Commoners, I presume, are so called from their communing together, and having a certain Portion of Meat and Drink provided for them, denominated Commons. . . . The Battlers are entitled to no Commons, but purchase their Meat and Drink of the Cook and Butler, unless they serve a Fellow or Gentleman Commoner, and then they may have the Dishes, which come from their Tables, with some other small Perquisites. Of these Battlers, some are Servitors, who attend the Bachelors and Commoners in the Hall, for which they have an Allowance. The education of all these is the same, but they pay for their Tuition and other Articles differently; if a Commoner pays 11. 10s. a Quarter for Tuition, a Gentleman Commoner pays double, and a Battler pays less than a Commoner. . . . A Battler, when he is four years standing, becomes a Candidate for a Batchelor's Degree, as well as a Commoner."



Having dealt with the actual list of members, we must now consider the charges made against their names. It might be expected that the space to the right of the lists, extending over the two pages, would be divided into seven columns, for the seven days of the week, and the charges allocated accordingly. But it is not so. The clerk worked across from left to right during the week, on a red ruled line, and separated each day's charges by drawing a short vertical line with his pen. But there is no means of allocating the charges to particular days, in the case of a man putting in a short week. Whether he was in residence three days at the beginning or three days at the end of a week the method of entering the charges does not show. The totals were normally during term time, when the members were in residence, entered in a column on the extreme right, but, especially during vacations, small charges were frequently made against numbers of men and the totals (when the clerk had not omitted to add them up) entered in mid-page. It is necessary to distinguish between these two kinds of charges, which I shall discuss later on (pp. 159, 170-71).

It is unfortunate that no one now seems to understand the real meaning of the buttery book entries, under the system then in vogue. Those who have examined them in the past have all failed to explain them, and Professor Chandler, himself an old Pembrochian, told Fitzgerald some half century ago, that "nobody now knows for certain what the sums entered against the names mean" (Fitzgerald's *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, p. 131). A new system was begun on 14 June 1793, under which a column was provided for each day of the week, and also columns for some extra charges (see *post*, p. 163); and the charges entered in Arabic (instead of Roman) numerals. It is an extraordinary fact that down to 1889, when the official register begins, there is no evidence even of a man's entry at Pembroke College, except that provided by the buttery books, and the caution book.\*

"Buttery" is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "the place where ale and bread, butter, etc., are kept," in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, it being added in brackets that "the 'residence' of members of the College is recorded by the appearance of their names in the buttery-books." Oxford University has a special

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\* See *post*, Appendix J., p. 176.



property in the word "battels," which the same authority defines as the "College accounts for board and provisions supplied from the kitchen and buttery." Just three hundred years ago a lexicographer named John Minsheu, who had spent four months in the University town, recorded how "they say in *Oxford*, to *Battle* in the Buttery-books, i.e. to set downe on their names what they take in Bread, Drinke, Butter, Cheese, etc." (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 651). A character in an Oxford comedy of 1704 is represented as saying :—"I, Sir, was seven years a Gentleman-Commoner here, and you may see my name every Day i' th' Buttery Book—*Cormorant Calj* of *Ba-lial College*, Esq. ; sixteen-pence boild Beef, eight-pence Bacon, a penny-half-penny Bread, and a farthing Carrot" (*ibid.*, p. 294). The *O.E.D.* defines "Buttery-book (at the Universities)," as "the book in which are entered the names of the members of a college, and the account of their commons," while "commons" are "now, at Oxford, a definite portion of victuals supplied from the college buttery or kitchen, at a regular charge." Maclean, speaking of an earlier date, explains that "there was in every Hall a common table, and what each contributed to the common purse of the Hall was called 'commons,' about eightpence to eighteen-pence a week. Additional fare for private consumption could be obtained from the manciple and was called 'batells'" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 32).

I saw from the first that there was only one way in which the evidence of the buttery books could be properly studied and analysed, and that was by having a copy made of the entries for the period in question, actually from 4 Oct. 1728 to 29 Oct. 1731. The transcribing was done for me, with great clearness, accuracy, and efficiency, by Miss E. G. Parker, of Oxford, by kind permission of Mr. Lionel E. Salt, the Bursar, and with the sympathetic aid of Mr. L. F. Powell. As the period comprises 161 weeks, and the number of members on the books generally exceeds 100 each week, it will be seen that the task was no light one. I had sheets specially cut, 20 inches by 5½ inches, for Miss Parker's transcription, each ruled across the narrow way with 110 lines, so that the whole list each week could go on one sheet. That the sheets could be so narrow was due to the fact that only the *totals* of the weekly charges were copied, those in mid-page being distinguished

from those in the right-hand column by being inset. To have copied the complete details of each day's charges would have enormously increased the labour, with no corresponding advantage for my purpose.

The labour of transcription, however, was small compared with the work that fell to me when the transcript was completed. The first thing I did was to tabulate the weekly charges of every man whose name was on the books between Oct. 1728 and Dec. 1729, the period of Johnson's actual residence in College, carrying the tabulation down to Oct. 1731 in each case where the man's name did not disappear before that date. There were 123 men in all to be thus treated, and the names of most of them were still on the books in 1731, so that their records thus tabulated probably amounted in all to about 15,000 weeks, each of which required the making of a separate entry, and the turning over of a page to find the name, and the entry against it, in the following week. I admit that weeks and weeks of work on this trying job rather damped my enthusiasm, but it was absolutely necessary for a proper study of the subject, as well as for the preparation of the complete list of Johnson's contemporaries at College, with their records, as given in Appendix J. (*post*, pp. 180-213). When this task was completed I had to analyse the lists, and the charges, in all manner of ways, prepare numerous tables, and view all the evidence from as many angles as possible. By such means can the most unpromising looking material be made gradually to yield up all manner of secrets. Altogether my work on the buttery books represents months of solid grind, but now it is completed I feel it has been fully justified.

I will start by giving particulars of Johnson's own record in College as disclosed by the buttery books. His name first appears on 25 Oct. 1728, among the commoners, as "Samuel Johnson," but with no amount entered against it. Thereafter, as in all other cases, it appears each week simply as "Johnson," with totals entered against it as follows :—

1728. 1 Nov., 08.00 ; 8 Nov., 08.00 ; 15 Nov., 08.00 ; 22 Nov., 08.00 ; 29 Nov., 08.00 ; 6 Dec., 08.00 ; 13 Dec., 12.03 ; 20 Dec., 08.00 ; 27 Dec., 07.11.  
 1728. 9. 3 Jan., 08.00 ; 10 Jan., 08.00 ; 17 Jan., 08.00 ; 24 Jan., 08.00 ; 31 Jan., 08.00 ; 7 Feb., 08.00 ; 14 Feb., 07.10 ; 21 Feb., 09.10 ; 28 Feb., 08.00 ; 7 Mch., 07.04 ; 14 Mch., 12.06 ; 21 Mch., 07.11.  
 1729. 28 Mch., 07.11 ; 4 Apl., 08.00 ; 11 Apl., 09.00 ; 18 Apl., 07.11 ; 25 Apl., 08.00 ; 2 May, 08.00 ; 9 May, 08.00 ; 16 May, 08.00 ; 22 May, 08.00 ;

29 May, 08.00 ; 6 June, 08.00 ; 13 June, 11.11 ; 20 June, 08.00 ; 27 June, 08.00 ; 4 July, 07.10 ; 11 July, 08.00 ; 18 July, 08.00 ; 25 July, 08.00 ; 1 Aug., 08.00 ; 8 Aug., 08.00 ; 15 Aug., 09.00 ; 22 Aug., 08.00 ; 29 Aug., 08.00 ; 5 Sept., 08.00 ; 12 Sept., 08.00 ; 19 Sept., 12.07 ; 26 Sept., 07.11 ; 3 Oct., 08.00 ; 10 Oct., 08.00 ; 17 Oct., 08.00 ; 24 Oct., 08.00 ; 31 Oct., 07.11 ; 7 Nov., 08.00 ; 14 Nov., 08.00 ; 21 Nov., 07.10 ; 28 Nov., 07.11 ; 5 Dec., 08.00 ; 12 Dec., 05.07 ; 19 Dec., a few entries, amounting to 7<sup>d</sup>, but not added up ; 26 Dec., "0-0-5" entered against his name, in mid-page, but no total given in final column.

1729/30. 2 Jan., "0-0-5," as in preceding week in mid-page ; Jan. 9, 16 and 23, no entries against name ; 30 Jan., "0-0-5," in mid-page again ; 6 Feb. to 6 Mch., no entries against name ; 13 Mch., "0-4-7" entered against his name in mid-page, but no total given in final column ; 20 Mch., no entry against name.

1730. 27 Mch., "0-0-5," in mid-page as before ; 3 Apl. to 8 May, no entries against name ; 15 May, a few entries, not added up, but amounting to 5<sup>d</sup> ; 22 May to 11 Sept., no entries against name ; 18 Sept., a few entries, not added up, but amounting to 4<sup>s</sup>/7 ; 25 Sept. to 27 Nov., no entries against name ; 4 Dec. to 25 Dec., *name omitted*.

1730/1. 1 Jan. to 22 Jan., *name omitted* ; 29 Jan., *name restored*, but no entry against it ; 5 Feb. to 5 Mch., *name omitted* ; 12 Mch., *name restored*, at foot of list of commoners, but no entry against it ; 19 Mch., name in position of seniority again, but no entry against it.

1731. 26 Mch. to 1 Oct., name kept in position, but no entries against it ; 8 Oct., *name omitted*, and does not re-appear.

It will be noticed that a different system of money notation is employed for the entries in mid-page from those in the right-hand column, but except in the table that follows I have always expressed the amounts in modern fashion—"0-5-6," or "05.06, I always translate into 5<sup>s</sup>/6, for clearness and brevity. It will also be noticed that all the charges against Johnson after Dec. 1729 are mid-page entries.

Johnson, as is shown above, incurred normal charges for battels every week from 1 Nov. 1728 to 5 Dec. 1729. Among all the members resident in College during this period there were only four who rivalled him in this respect :—(1) his friend Philip Jones, foundation scholar, who did not miss a single week from 4 Oct. 1728 (and perhaps earlier) to 8 Jan. 1730/1, a remarkable record ; (2) John Carew, commoner, whose weekly charges run normally without a break from 4 Oct. 1728 to 17 July 1730 ; (3) Peter Sherwin, scholar, who from 4 Oct. 1728 to 29 Oct. 1731 (the limits of my search) has fairly normal amounts entered against his name for every week except 22 May 1729, 4<sup>s</sup>/3 ;



7 Nov. 1728, nothing ; and 9 July 1731, 2<sup>s</sup>/8 ; and (4) Tipping Silvester, fellow, whose charges show that during Johnson's residence he missed no more than an odd week or two, in Jan. 1728/9 and Sept. 1729.\*

Johnson's battels were of normal amount for a commoner. The total charges against him for the 58 weeks in which he was in full and continuous residence amount to £24-3-4, giving a weekly average of 8<sup>s</sup>/4. His charges run very evenly, for on 40 weeks they amount to exactly 8<sup>s</sup>/-, and on 7 weeks to 7<sup>s</sup>/11, leaving a balance of eleven weeks, which show an extreme variation from 7<sup>s</sup>/4 to 12<sup>s</sup>/7 only. He could not, however, equal the remarkable record of John Moseley, scholar, who from 1 Aug. to 28 Nov. 1729 had a run of 18 weeks with no variation from 8<sup>s</sup>/-, and two similar runs of 12 and 9 weeks—which may truly be termed "regular living."

To show more clearly that Johnson's battels represented no stinted life in College, I may remark that Ambrose Hallett, another commoner, who came of wealthy people, spent no more. Over 51 weeks of which I have record, when he was in full residence, his battels average 8<sup>s</sup>/4½, one halfpenny in excess of Johnson's ; his highest was 14<sup>s</sup>/2 and his lowest 5<sup>s</sup>/8. Similar calculations show that Rowland Hunt, John Hayward and Oliver Edwards, all commoners and from well-to-do families, averaged respectively 8<sup>s</sup>/1, 8<sup>s</sup>/1 and 8<sup>s</sup>/3.

No one has disputed that Johnson remained in College up to 12 Dec. 1729, so that the charges till then require no further examination. It is the charges after that date—all mid-page charges—which have proved such a puzzle, as clouding the issue in the question of whether he returned to College at all in 1730 or 1731. So we must examine them as they occur.

First, there is the charge amounting to 7<sup>d</sup> on 19 Dec. Almost all the other commoners, on this date, excepting those obviously in residence, have mid-page charges against them of 5<sup>d</sup> each, and, except for the discrepancy of twopence the case is conformable to those that follow and subject to the inferences I shall draw from them.

The next charge against him is 5<sup>d</sup>, a week later, on 26 Dec. This

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\* At this same period "it was not very uncommon for Fellows and Students (especially Sizars, as Sam. Jebb at Peterhouse, and Bp. Watson at Trinity) to live for several years together without sleeping a night out of Cambridge" (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, pp. 170-1).



week there were only three commoners in residence, Carew, Trimnell and Howells, and the remaining twenty-three have all this charge of 5<sup>d</sup> against them, with the exception of the two Godfrays, who had not been in residence since June. I am now going to take four of these commoners, including Johnson, and tabulate their charges onwards to April :—

	26 Dec. 1729	2 Jan. 1729/30	9 Jan. 1729/30	16 Jan. 1729/30	23 Jan. 1729/30	30 Jan. 1729/30	6 Feb. 1729/30
Skygger	0-0-5	0-0-5	—	—	—	0-0-5	—
Estcourt	0-0-5	0-0-5	—	—	—	0-0-5	—
Johnson	0-0-5	0-0-5	—	—	—	0-0-5	—
Stonehouse	0-0-5	0-0-5	—	—	—	0-0-5	—

	13 Feb. 1729/30	20 Feb. 1729/30	27 Feb. 1729/30	6 Mch. 1729/30	13 Mch. 1729/30	20 Mch. 1729/30	27 Mch. 1730	3 Apl. 1730
Skygger	—	—	—	—	0-4-7	—	0-0-5	—
Estcourt	—	—	—	—	0-4-7	—	0-0-5	—
Johnson	—	—	—	—	0-4-7	—	0-0-5	—
Stonehouse	—	—	—	—	0-4-7	—	0-0-5	—

It will be seen from this table that all the small charges against Johnson during this period are exactly matched both in respect of date and amount by those against the other three commoners in question. I have selected these particular men so as to get absolute uniformity, but the same principle governs the charges against the other men also.

The next charge, on 15 May 1730, amounting to 5<sup>d</sup>, is also matched by a similar charge against each of three other commoners, Skygger, Ashe and Estcourt. Of these, Skygger, like Johnson, had had no charge against him at all since 27 Mch., and then only a similar 5<sup>d</sup>, as shown in the above table. Ashe had had no charge against him in the preceding week, but before that had been incurring the normal amount for battels. Estcourt's case was exactly similar to Skygger's, and so to Johnson's. Going forward from 15 May we find that Skygger's

normal charges begin again next week, Ashe's not till Nov., and Estcourt's in the first week of June.

There remains but one further charge against Johnson, that amounting to  $4^s/7$ , on 18 Sept. 1730. In my letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*, of 16 Sept. 1926, I was misled into giving this amount as  $4^s/9$ , and I pointed out that thirteen other commoners, all of whom had had no previous charges against them for periods varying from weeks to months, and most of whom had no charge against them for some weeks afterwards, incurred a similar charge on that date. But as the amount was really  $4^s/7$ , I can point also to the fact that three other commoners, Ashe, Dumaresq and Pemberton,\* were similarly charged  $4^s/7$  on 18 Sept., and that it was the only charge that had been made against any of them since 17 July, when  $1^s/8$  was entered against Dumaresq. And going forward there is no charge against any of the three for over three weeks.

This evidence, I hope, has made it perfectly clear that these small mid-page charges against Johnson after Dec. 1729 are exactly matched by charges against numbers of other commoners who were clearly out of residence. Instead, therefore, of constituting an argument against his having finally left College in Dec. 1729, they actually prove that he did not return after that date. A glance at the table I have given will show the absurdity of imagining that four men, from Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, and Berkshire, returned to College on five separate but identical occasions between Dec. 1729 and Apl. 1730, to spend absolutely identical sums, four times of  $5^d$  and once of  $4^s/7$ .

It is a point of importance that on each of the occasions when Johnson and other commoners *out* of residence were charged these sums of four shillings odd, the commoners *in* residence were charged a substantial though lesser sum in excess of their normal battels. On 13 Mch. 1729/30, when Johnson and the three other absent commoners were charged  $4^s/7$ , the average sum charged against eighteen commoners in College was  $12^s/0\frac{1}{2}$ , whereas the average sum charged against them for five proximate weeks (three before and two after)

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\* Daniel Dumaresq did not matric. till 16 Mch. 1729/30, and Robert Pemberton till 30 Apl. 1730 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*), so neither was a contemporary of Johnson's.

was only 8<sup>s</sup>/6. And on 18 Sept. 1730, when Johnson and his fellow absentees were mostly charged 4<sup>s</sup>/7 or 4<sup>s</sup>/9, the charge against five commoners in residence averaged 12<sup>s</sup>/6, against 8<sup>s</sup>/- for the three preceding weeks.

I have found no one at Oxford who professes to know what these minor charges against men out of residence represent. Battels are ordinarily defined and understood, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 157), as representing charges just for food and drink. But men out of residence could not draw provisions from the College kitchen or buttery. It is evident therefore that charges were entered in the buttery books for things other than consumable stores, and there is evidence enough, especially in regard to the second half of the eighteenth century, that this was so. Indeed, when the new system of accounts was inaugurated at Pembroke in 1793 (*ante*, p. 156), columns were included for extra charges after that giving "Total (of rations) for Week." These were headed, "Pye," "Porter," "Plates," "Knives," "Servitor," "Common Room" and "Kitchen," and a final column added for [Grand] "Total." In 1850 battels at Pembroke, it may be mentioned here, included "Buttery (Bread, Butter, Cheese, Ale, etc.)" — "Cook's Bill" — "Weekly Dues" — "Janitor" — "Letters" — and "Messenger" (*Oxford Univ. Comm. Report*, 1852, "Evidence," p. 377).

To go back to the eighteenth century, an undergraduate of Queen's College, writing to his mother on 17 May 1779, says :—"Under the account for eating (or battles as it is called) are included several other little expences, such as for letters, College servants, charities at the Sacrament, &c., &c." ("Letters of Richard Radcliffe and John James," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, IX., 73). And earlier, in 1727, Richard Newton, Principal of Hart Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford, in his *Expence of University Education Reduced*, recommended that nothing should "be put upon the Scholar's Name in the Book of Battels for either *Bye-Services* or *Charities*" (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 572). He also said that "as to the *Charities*, the practice of keeping a Note or Subscription list hanging in the public Refectory to be transferred to the Action of Battels is reprehensible" (*ibid.*, p. 573).

One might reasonably conclude that the small amounts charged

against men out of residence, in Johnson's day, represented some charges such as those enumerated above as in force in 1727, 1779, 1793 and 1850. It is to be remarked that the charges were not booked against all absentees, for there are numerous cases of men absenting themselves for long periods and of their names being retained on the books, without a single charge of any kind being entered against them (see *post*, p. 173).

I must thank Mr. Leonard Whibley for providing the key which has finally solved the question of the nature of these charges. Writing to me in reference to my first letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*, and speaking of his own study of the buttery books at Peterhouse, Cambridge, as bearing upon the question of Gray's residence there, he remarked :—

But a man was liable to certain charges at times when he was not resident (provided that his name was kept on the Boards). He was charged the amount of Commons for weeks in which came Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and certain Church Festivals (Whit Sundays, etc.), and so in Gray's case, after he left Peterhouse in 1738, he was charged Commons in the weeks in which these days occurred. These charges on absentees were called *Petizants*.

The methods of Cambridge must not, of course, be taken as always affording a strict parallel to those at Oxford, and even each College had its own different system. But in this case the parallel is clear. Mr. Whibley continued, in direct reference to the entries against Johnson's name after he had left :—

It does look as if a special charge of 5<sup>d</sup> might be made for certain feasts (on non-residents—perhaps on residents as well), judging by the instances you give.

1729. Dec. 19. The week beginning 19<sup>th</sup> would include Christmas Day. The items not added up may include a 5<sup>d</sup>.

1729. Dec. 26. Includes New Year's Day.

1730. Jan. 2. This week would include Twelfth Night (which may have been celebrated).

1730. Jan. 30. I have no suggestion why the charge should come then, unless for Candlemas.

1730. Mch. 27 (According to the Book of Almanacs) was Good Friday, and this week would include Easter.

1730. May 15. Would include Whit Sunday.

It must be added that there was a similar charge of 5<sup>d</sup> against absentee commoners on 30 Oct. 1730, though Johnson escapes this



time; and that parallel charges to those he had suffered for five months after leaving College recur against other absentee commoners on corresponding dates in 1730-31—5<sup>d</sup> on 25 Dec., 9<sup>d</sup> on 1 Jan. 1730/1, 5<sup>d</sup> on 29 Jan. 1730/1, 5<sup>d</sup> on 16 Apl. 1731, 5<sup>d</sup> on 4 June 1731, and 5<sup>d</sup> on 29 Oct. 1731, when my record ends. The fact that these small charges recur in 1731 on dates corresponding to those of 1730 (allowing for the fact that Easter Day fell on 18 Apl. in 1731, and that the two charges of 5<sup>d</sup> on 26 Dec. 1729 and 2 Jan. 1729/30 were represented by the single charge of 9<sup>d</sup> on 1 Jan. 1730/1), affords a striking corroboration of Mr. Whibley's theory of their being in connexion with feast-days—indeed may be said to prove it. The small charges against absentees in 1729 are also in correspondence with those of 1730 and 1731. The 5<sup>d</sup> at the end of Oct. must have been for All Saints' Day, 1 Nov.

Since Mr. Whibley wrote as above, the Rev. Dr. T. A. Walker, formerly Bursar of Peterhouse, has communicated to him a most valuable note which Samuel Baron, Bursar about 1626, made at the end of his day-book :—

*Petizantia dayes viz.* :—All Saints, Xtmas, New Yeares-day, Twelft-day, Candlemass, Esterday, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, Trinitie Sunday.

Dr. Walker remarks :—"You will see that *Petizantia* represent a special charge in respect of certain great Feasts. It looks as though there were 'exceedings' of some sort on those days which must be paid for." Since Dr. Walker wrote this I have found that the Statutes drawn up for Hertford College, Oxford, in 1747, by Richard Newton, then Principal, included this clause :—" *Exceedings* of 1s. 6d. apiece to be allowed on the noon of Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and the Commemoration of the Incorporation, at the expence of non-residents as well " (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 579). Thus the practice at Oxford conformed to Dr. Walker's surmise as to that at Cambridge.

It will be seen that the "Petizantia Days" at Peterhouse, Cambridge, included all the days on which absentees from Pembroke, Oxford, paid these sums of 5<sup>d</sup> a century later—and also two more, Ascension Day and Trinity Sunday. I cannot find that these two feasts are represented by any special charges at Pembroke, showing that the practice there was different to this small extent.

Mr. Whibley tells me that Gray, as an undergraduate of Peterhouse, was charged *in absentia*, after he had ceased to reside, during 1738-39, the full amount of commons in weeks in which occurred Christmas Day, New Year's Day, and Whitsunday. After he returned as a fellow-commoner in 1742, he was charged *in absentia*, between 1745 and 1754, in respect of Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Easter Day, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, and All Saints' Day—for all the days enumerated by Samuel Baron in 1626, except Twelfth Night and Candlemas. This exception, however, may have been only due to Gray's not having been absent on those two particular feasts.

I can see no evidence to suggest that the battels of the men in residence were proportionately higher on the occasions when absentees were charged 5<sup>d</sup> each. The figures, indeed, seem to show that they remained normal, which suggests that the 5<sup>d</sup> was not a charge laid on all "live" members of the College, but merely a fine booked against absentees.

That fines were entered in the buttery books at Oxford there is independent evidence to prove. In Nicholas Amherst's *Terrae Filius*, of 1721, is a story of a young fellow of Balliol, who cut his throat very dangerously, when "the Master of the college sent his servitor to the buttery-book to sconce him five shillings", with the warning that "next time he cuts his throat, I'll sconce him Ten" (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 444). And in 1772 it was ordered, at Pembroke, that "every Person who shall without Leave absent Himself from the Sacrament shall contribute to the Relief of the Poor," in proportion to rank, "which sums are to be put on their names in the Buttery Book" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 498).

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the small sums booked against Johnson, after his departure from College, were charges in respect of feast-days, and almost certainly fines for absence rather than "exceedings" (in Newton's sense of the word, as the charge, and not in its ordinarily accepted sense of the extra commons itself), as the battels of those in residence remained normal in the weeks containing such days.

Mr. Powell has discovered in the Bodleian an interesting piece of

evidence, though belonging to a rather later date, which corroborates these conclusions : it is from Andrew Clark's *Collections for Jesus College, Oxford* (MS. Top. Oxon. e 137, fol. 38) :—

1763. Xmas. Absent groats.	£	s.	d.
Fellows & Masters 42		14	0
2 Fell. Com <sup>rs</sup> at 2/6		5	0
10 Bachelors		3	4
9 Commoners		3	0
24 Battelars		8	0
7 Servitors		2	4
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		1	15 8

It is clear, therefore, that all members of Jesus College who absented themselves at Christmas 1763 were fined fourpence each, except the fellow commoners (= gentlemen commoners of Pembroke), who for some reason had to pay 2<sup>s</sup>/6 each.

There remains to consider the larger charges, of 4<sup>s</sup>/7 each, on 13 Mch. 1729/30 and 18 Sept. 1730, which come under a different category. Here again, a hint from Mr. Whibley has led to a very simple solution. He suggested that I approach the problem from the angle that they were *quarterly* charges, and a brief investigation proved his suggestion correct. I found that the weeks beginning 13 Mch. 1729/30 and 18 Sept. 1730 were both final weeks of the College quarter, as indicated by the headings to the buttery book entries, which run from "Heb. 1," the first week, to "Heb. 12," "Heb. 13," or "Heb. 14," according to how the quarters were divided. As thirteen weeks were reckoned to each quarter, there was, of course, a discrepancy between the College quarter and the ordinarily accepted quarter as determined by the calendar months, and when this discrepancy became too great a week was added to, or even deducted from, the thirteen, in order to preserve an approximate uniformity. I also found, as already explained (*ante*, pp. 162-3), that on these occasions the battels of those in residence were substantially higher, showing that there was a general charge against all "live" members of the College on the books. And on further investigation I found that during the whole of the three years 1728-31 similar charges were made at the end of each quarter, though sometimes, when there were no absentees, they can only be



detected by a general increase in the charges. Why Johnson was not charged for the intermediate quarter, on 12 June 1730, I do not know. Whether he was liable for payment for the final quarter of that year, on 11 Dec., we cannot say, for his name was omitted from the books for a few weeks then. We now see why Johnson's battels were higher on 13 Dec. 1728 (12<sup>s</sup>/3), 14 Mch. 1728/9 (12<sup>s</sup>/6), 13 June 1729 (11<sup>s</sup>/11), and 19 Sept. 1729 (12<sup>s</sup>/7), for they all included this extra charge at the end of a quarter.

Exactly what these quarterly charges were for at Pembroke I have not discovered, and it does not much matter. At Peterhouse, Cambridge, it appears from notes by Samuel Baron, the Bursar already quoted, that about 1626 there was a quarterly charge made against all ordinary undergraduates of 2<sup>s</sup>/6, for the manciple, the butler, and four of the lecturers, whether such undergraduates were present or absent, providing their names were on the College boards. No doubt the charges at Pembroke were of a somewhat similar character.

College bills were made out by the quarter. Richard Newton, already quoted, in 1727 protested against scholars having "what Entertainments they please dress'd in the Common Kitchen and the Charge thereof inserted in their *Note of Battels* at the end of the Quarter" (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 572). And Stephen Penton [1640-1706], in *The Guardian's Instruction*, 1688, thus advised for the undergraduate:—"Be sure that he discharge all dues *quarterly*, and not learn to run into debt, this will make him gain credit and buy cheaper" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXII., 46). Richard Newton gives the following account of the expenses of Joseph Somaster, a commoner of Hart Hall,\* for the Michaelmas quarter of fourteen weeks, 21 June to 27 Sept. 1723 (*ibid.*, XXII., 63-5):—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Chamber-Rent	01	00	00
Tuition and Officers Stipends [ <i>Tuition</i> 30 <sup>s</sup> /-; <i>Public lectures</i> 5 <sup>s</sup> /-; <i>Vice Principal, Chaplain, Catechist and Moderator</i> , 2 <sup>s</sup> /6 each]	02	05	00

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\* Joseph, son of Joseph Somaster, of Kingsbridge, Devon, gent., matric. from Hart Hall 2 Apl. 1723, aged 18; B.A. from Balliol Coll. 1726; M.A. 1729 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*). Bapt. 5 Dec. 1704 at Kingsbridge.



University Dues [ <i>Readers of the Unendowed Lectures 6<sup>d</sup>, Bedell of Arts 2<sup>d</sup>, Keeper of Galleries at St. Mary's 6<sup>d</sup>, Clerk of St. Mary's, 1<sup>d</sup></i> ]	00	01	03
Charter [ <i>Paid to Univ. at Michaelmas and Lady Day only, for defence of their privileges</i> ]	00	00	06
Bedmaker's Wages	00	06	06
Domus	00	00	03
Decrements [ <i>each scholar's proportion for fuel, candles, salt, and other common necessities</i> ]	00	04	02
Servitor	00	02	06
Commons and Battels (Cook and Butler's Salaries included) [ <i>4<sup>d</sup> a week to each from every commoner</i> ]	03	16	11
	07	17	01

The buttery books, of course, provide no evidence as to whether the amounts entered therein had been paid. Newton stated that "even the richer students are often in arrears when they have left a College beyond their caution money" (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 572). Johnson himself was in arrears when he left, though apparently not beyond the amount of his caution, as the College caution book shows (*see post*, Appendix J., p. 177), in an entry the exact wording of which is as follows :—

March 26 1740. At a Convention of the Master and Fellows to Settle the Account of the Caution it Appear'd that the Persons Accounts Underwritten stood thus at their Leaveing the College

Caution not Repay'd	Battells not Discharg'd
Mr. Johnson            7 : 0 : 0	Mr. Johnson            7 : 0 : 0

As Mr. Macleane observes, "the authorities did not reckon too nicely with him," when they let the account "run on for eleven years," and "it is unlikely that the batells exactly balanced the caution" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., p. 340). If we reckoned his battels alone it would seem likely that the balance was in favour of the College, for his last quarter's battels amounted to £4-13-2, and the amounts booked against him after that to 11<sup>s</sup>/10, making a total of £5-5-0 only; and it is unlikely he owed anything for the preceding quarter, when his battels amounted to £5-17-5. But perhaps his debt included some of the other charges as just shown in the account of Joseph Somaster's expenses.

Why Johnson's became a "dead" name on the books after 1730, without any charge against it, I cannot say. Some men's charges ceased immediately they went out of residence, and yet their names remained on the books; other absentees were still debited with the periodic charges for a much longer time even than Johnson. Andrew Corbet, a gentleman commoner, for instance, who ceased residence in Nov. 1728, was still having the quarterly charges booked against him down to Oct. 1731 (and perhaps longer); whereas Conant, after he ceased residence in July 1730, incurred no charges whatever down to the same date. The practice in regard to the repayment of caution money does not provide any explanation, as it varied so much (see *post*, Appendix J., pp. 176-8).

Only those who have racked their brains over the buttery books can realize the difficulty of deducing general principles therefrom. I had, for instance, hoped to establish a general rule that members *out* of residence could always be distinguished from those *in* residence by the fact that the charges entered against them were totalled in mid-page, instead of in the final column (*ante*, p. 156), and in a different notation (*ante*, p. 159). This idea was strengthened by the fact that these mid-page charges, though made up of small items, were not divided by those short vertical lines with which the clerk, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 156), separated one day's charges from another, in the case of normal battels. But an obstacle arises from the fact that in some cases small charges which we should expect to find in mid-page are in the final column, and in the notation peculiar to that column. Andrew Corbet, for instance, after he left College, was on five occasions debited with sums in the final column (14 Mch. 1728/9—5<sup>s</sup>/7; 13 June 1729—4<sup>s</sup>/9; 13 Mch. 1729/30—5<sup>s</sup>/7; 11 Dec. 1730—4<sup>s</sup>/9; 17 Sept. 1731—5<sup>s</sup>/7), and investigation shows that each occasion was the last week of a quarter. But on the other hand during this same period, and also on five occasions, there were entered against him similar charges in mid-page (on 19 Sept. 1729—5<sup>s</sup>/7; 12 June 1730—4<sup>s</sup>/9; 18 Sept. 1730—5<sup>s</sup>/7; 12 Mch. 1730/1—5<sup>s</sup>/7; and 11 June 1731—4<sup>s</sup>/9), all of which are also at ends of quarters. This seems to forbid the application of the principle suggested, as we can hardly believe that these discrepancies, which can easily be matched and multiplied, were due to clerical error. In some cases, too, these small charges in the final

column against absentees, fall on weeks which include neither quarter-days nor (College) feast-days, such as that against Blandy of 11<sup>d</sup> on 17 Apl. 1730 and 1<sup>s</sup>/1 on 24 Apl. 1730 ; of 8<sup>d</sup> against Brent on 18 Oct. 1728, 3<sup>s</sup>/2 on 2 Oct. 1730, and 4<sup>s</sup>/3 on 9 Oct. 1730. In a few cases a feast-day charge, such as that of 5<sup>d</sup> against Blandy and Brent on 25 Oct. 1728, is entered in the final column, though this perhaps may be only a clerical error. It will be seen from these instances how puzzling is the whole problem. But one important principle, at least, emerges from a careful study of the accounts for the three years, that, apart from the seven feast-days, and the ends of the four quarters, there are no *systematic* mid-page charges, but only a few scattered ones, which must represent fines or extra charges of some kind levied on odd individuals, on odd dates.

I have dealt only with the accounts of commoners, because Johnson was a commoner. But it must be understood that the same system of charges against both men in residence and absentees, prevailed in the case of "other ranks," though in varying proportion. When absentee commoners, for instance, were charged 5<sup>d</sup>, gentlemen commoners (who dined at the fellows' table) were ordinarily charged 7<sup>d</sup>, and servitors only 4<sup>d</sup>; while normal battels varied in much the same proportion, though these were, of course, influenced by questions of personal economy or extravagance.

During the three years which I have examined there is not a single instance of the weekly battels of a commoner, or of course of a servitor, ever amounting to £1. But in the case of gentlemen commoners, foundation scholars, and graduates, that sum was quite frequently exceeded, £1-10-0 less frequently, and £2 occasionally. And on 6 June 1729 Henry Toye, gentleman commoner, after two months of normal living, suddenly ran up a charge of £3-1-6, though it was William Toye the servitor, I expect, who "gott drunk" on occasion. Whether these big amounts represented personal indulgence, in food and drink, or merely hospitality, I cannot say. Certainly hospitality is suggested by the charge of £2-16-7 incurred by James Hallett, gentleman commoner, on the very week when his younger brother Ambrose was entered as a commoner, for his battels were rarely in excess of normal. William Blandy, fellow, when in residence, had the most consistently high charges, and during 17 weeks from 3 Oct. 1729 to 23 Jan. 1729/30



eleven times exceeded £1 and twice £2. The others who distinguished themselves by occasionally exceeding £2 were William Le Marchant, fellow, John Ratcliff, then fellow, and Jonathan Raymond, gentleman commoner.

The charges in the buttery books were, as already stated (*ante*, p. 154), for the week following the date heading the entries, though this can only be *proved* by studying the records of some of the College members. For instance, Estcourt, who took his B.A. degree on 23 Feb. 1730/1, has “D<sup>s</sup>,” the symbol of his new dignity, prefixed to his name in the list of commoners under date of 19 Feb., while at the same time “D<sup>s</sup> Estcourt” is added to the list of Bachelors of Arts, immediately above it, where it remains in the following weeks. And similarly Curteis Wightwick, who was elected a fellow on 23 Dec. 1730, had his name added to the list of fellows in the buttery book under date of 18 Dec., while it still appears among the Masters of Arts. In each of these cases, therefore, the clerk entered the name in its usual place on the date which headed the page, and later in the week, when the man’s status was changed, entered it also in its new position. Johnson’s own case is evidence in the same direction. His name is first entered under 25 Oct. 1728, but without charge; next week, on 1 Nov., he is charged 8s/-. Now his caution money was paid on 31 Oct., no doubt by Michael Johnson (who would have the money in his pocket), “on the night of his arrival at Oxford” (*ante*, p. 6). They naturally would arrive at night, after the long journey from Lichfield, and so although Samuel’s name would be entered at once in the buttery book (under the week ending that day), he would incur no charge until the next day, 1 Nov., which began a fresh week. If it had been the week *ending* 25 Oct. on which his name was first entered it would have meant that he had carried the caution money about with him for a week.

What was the principle under which men’s names were sometimes retained on the books after they had left, and sometimes (but very infrequently) removed almost at once, I have not discovered; or why some, when retained, were subject to periodic charges and fines, while others escaped them altogether. The following are some other instances, akin to Johnson’s, of men whose names were retained during long absence and periodic charges made against them:—



*Jeremiah Whitehouse*, servitor, matric. 26 May 1726, but took no degree ; ceased residence after 11 July 1729 ; his name continuously entered until 29 Oct. 1731.

*Andrew Corbet*, gentleman commoner, matric. 3 May 1727 ; ceased residence after 1 Nov. 1728 ; name still appears on 29 Oct. 1731.

*Thomas Bly*, took his B.A. 1726 and M.A. 1729 ; not in residence after Sept. 1729, but name still on books in Oct. 1731.

*Edward Moy*, servitor, B.A. May 1730, went out of residence after 12 June ; did not return till 26 Feb. 1730/1.

*Thomas Williams*, scholar, B.A. 1723 ; name appears down to 4 Dec. 1730.

And the following are instances of absentees against whose names no charges were entered :—

*Hawkewell Meares*, gentleman commoner, matric. 1726 but took no degree ; name still on books 4 Oct. 1728 ; retained until 29 May 1730.

*John Conant*, gentleman commoner, B.A. 1727 ; M.A. Apl. 1730 ; out of residence after 31 July 1730 ; name still on books Oct. 1731.

*James Hallett*, gentleman commoner, matric. 16 May 1728 ; ceased residence Dec. 1730 ; no charge against his name after 5 Feb. 1730/1, and it still appears on 29 Oct. 1731.

*John Keyte*, scholar, M.A. 1727 ; ceased residence Apl. 1729 ; name omitted after 4 Sept. 1730.

*Robert Stephens*, B.A. 1726 ; no charge against him after 29 Aug. 1729, but name retained until 4 Sept. 1730.

*William Tristram*, B.A. 1727 ; M.A. Dec. 1729 ; no charge against him after 12 Dec. 1729 ; but name retained until 27 Nov. 1730.

*Erasmus* and *John Philipps*, gentleman commoners, both matric. 1720, and took no degrees ; still on books 4 Oct. 1728 ; both names retained until Dec. 1730, and one still there in Oct. 1731.

*Thomas Thornton*, gentleman commoner ; matric. 20 May 1715, but took no degree, and mard. in 1722 ; name appears continuously from 4 Oct. 1729 to 29 Oct. 1731.

These are but a few illustrative examples. There are, too, the "doctors," Creed, Baker, Beauvoir, and Swynfen, whose names all appear for long periods, from 4 Oct. 1728, without a single charge against any of them ; and several Masters of Arts, Downes, Horton and Eaton, with similar freedom from charges.

Johnson's name, it will have been noted, was dropped from the buttery books on 4 Dec. 1730 and not restored until 29 Jan. 1730/1 ; and was omitted again on 5 Feb. and not restored until 12 Mch. 1730/1. There is, I think, no significance of any kind in these omissions, which

were probably due to mere clerical carelessness ; and the following parallel cases will show that they were not at all uncommon :—

*Charles Godfray*, commoner, matric. 8 Nov. 1728 ; name omitted four weeks 12 Feb. to 5 Mch. 1730/1, after being out of residence since 3 July 1730 ; re-inserted 12 Mch., though he had not returned to residence, and had no charges booked against him down to 8 May 1731, when he came into residence again.

*John Hayward*, servitor, matric. 1 July 1725 ; name omitted 27 Nov. 1730, after being out of residence certainly since 4 July 1729, and re-inserted 18 June 1731 with a charge of 5<sup>s</sup>/6 and next week of 7<sup>s</sup>/1 ; name continues down to 29 Oct. 1731 (though out of residence) and no doubt longer, as he took his B.A. 7 Mch. 1731/2.

*Benjamin Gutteridge*, servitor, B.A. 18 Mch. 1729/30 ; name omitted 5 June 1730, after eleven clear weeks out of residence ; restored 20 Nov. 1730, but without charge ; again omitted 22 Jan. 1730/1 ; restored 2 Sept. 1731 (no charge again) ; omitted again next week and does not re-appear by 29 Oct. 1731.

*Thomas Wight*, scholar, B.A. June 1729 ; name omitted 18 Dec. 1730, after non-residence since June 1730 ; re-inserted 5 Feb. 1730/1 (no charge) ; disappears after 1 May 1731.

*William Eynon*, B.A. 1726 ; name omitted 22 Nov. 1728, after being out of residence ; re-inserted 13 Dec. (at foot of list) with small charge ; restored to proper position 20 Dec. (no charge), and then disappears.

*Tipping Silvester*, M.A. 1723/4 ; name omitted 23 Oct. 1730, after two weeks normal charges ; re-inserted 15 Oct. 1731, with normal charge.

*Samuel Horne*, M.A. 1717 ; name omitted 29 Nov. 1728, after being out of residence ; restored 31 Jan. to 7 Mch. 1728/9, though he did not return to residence.

I have plenty of instances of names being omitted for a single week, but they are not worth enumerating here.

Johnson's name was finally removed from the books three years less three weeks after he entered the College. This was unusual, but I have found two other cases where names were removed under three years :—

*Oliver Edwards*, first entered 20 June 1729 ; in regular residence from 3 Oct. 1729 until 24 Apl. 1730, and then name omitted altogether.

*Thomas Horton*, matric. 7 July 1728 ; name omitted after 10 Apl. 1730, when he had been out of residence some months.

There were, of course, a few cases, like those of John Hayward and Francis Henchman, where men's names were prematurely removed on their departure to other Colleges, or that of William Weltden, who later went on to Cambridge, but these do not bear on the point. The normal time of residence at Oxford, at that period, for those taking a

degree, was four years (*ante*, p. 54 ; Birkbeck Hill's *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, 1878, p. 84 ; Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, pp. 576-7).

Of the other members of the College whose names appear on the buttery books while Johnson was in residence, no less than 26 seem also to have left without taking a degree :—Jasper Clayton, Andrew Corbet, Thomas Crawley (Boevey), John Davies, Oliver Edwards, Joshua Ellis, Edward Godfray, Ambrose Hallett, James Hallett, Thomas Horton, Benjamin Hyett, Nicholas Hyett, William Mallett, George Overman, Josias Packwood, Richard Payne, Erasmus Philipps, John Philipps, Jonathan Raymond, William Skynner, Vyner Small, Thomas Thornton, Henry Toye, William Whitehead, Jeremiah Whitehouse, and Francis Wightwick. This represents a large proportion out of 123 names, when we deduct all the seniors whose names appear in the list.

## APPENDIX J.

### JOHNSON'S COLLEGE CONTEMPORARIES

(See *ante*, pp. 59-63)

As there was no admission register at Pembroke College until quite a recent date (see *ante*, Appendix H., p. 156), the compilation of a list of Johnson's contemporaries there has been rendered much more difficult. Some years ago, by considerable labour, I extracted from Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* the names of all those who entered the College from 1724 to 1731, and this gave me most of the names I required (apart from the senior fellows and other older members who were in residence at his time), and in addition a great many who had left before he came. It was not until I obtained copies of the buttery book lists (see *ante*, Appendix H., p. 157) that I felt myself on a firm basis. Even then, with names on the books of men who were not in residence at all, or only for very brief periods, the question of what constituted a contemporary was not always easy to decide. The only

satisfactory solution seemed to be to account for all members of the College whose names were on the books at any time during Johnson's residence there—that is, from the week beginning 25 Oct. 1728 to the week beginning 12 Dec. 1729 (see *ante*, pp. 158-9)—and state for what period, if any, they were actually his fellow-collegians. This is what I have done in the following record, *inclusion in which is therefore in itself no evidence of a man having lived in College with Johnson*. I have arranged them, for convenience of reference, in alphabetical order, as little would have been gained by trying to place them in some more natural sequence.

All the names, of course, occur in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, but the brief records there given I have in most cases very much extended. It must be borne in mind that Christian names are not given in the buttry books, except on the week of entry, so very often it takes some little enquiry to make sure of a man's identity, especially if his surname was one claimed by other members of the College (see *ante*, Appendix H., p. 155).

Another very important source which I have utilized for the final completion of these biographies is the caution book of Pembroke College. In this volume is recorded the amount of caution money paid by each entrant, with the date of payment and the signature of the bursar to whom it was paid. Scholars paid £7, gentlemen commoners £10, commoners £7, battellers £4, and servitors £3. The entrant's status is usually given, but not always. The caution money was in the nature of a guarantee to the College against pecuniary loss, and was returned in full on leaving, provided the member had no accounts outstanding. The sum thus repaid, with the date, and the signature of the recipient (usually, of course, the member himself, but sometimes another acting on his behalf), is also entered in the volume. The actual entries were usually in this form :—

June 30, 1725. Recd. then of Mr. Benjamin Gutteridge four pounds for his caution w<sup>ch</sup> is to remain in the hands of the Burs<sup>r</sup> to be by him repay'd when the said Mr. Gutteridge shall depart the said College leaving it fully discharged, by me, MATT. EATON, Burs<sup>r</sup>.

May y<sup>e</sup> 30 [*year missing*]. Receiv<sup>d</sup> y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Summ of 20 shillings of Mr. Jordan Bursar in part of my Caution, By me, BEN. GUTTRIDGE.

March y<sup>e</sup> 21 1729/30. Rec<sup>d</sup> then residue of my caution of Mr. Lockton Bursar, Per BEN. GUTTRIDGE.



The entry relating to Johnson I have already printed (see *ante*, p. 5). It was quite common for a batteller to have £1 returned to him, after some residence in College, leaving him, like a servitor, with only £3 to draw on departure, but I have found no explanation of this custom. It was also a custom (though not one always observed) for a gentleman commoner on receiving back his £10 caution money from the bursar, to donate it to the College funds. On 1 Oct. 1722, the day he left, Erasmus Philipps noted in his diary :—"Took up my Caution Money (£10) from the Bursar, & lodg'd it w<sup>th</sup> Dr. Panting, the Master, for the use of Pembroke College" (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, X., 445).

A few names seem to be omitted altogether from the caution book, those of which I can be certain being William Crawley, John Fludger, Philip Jones, and John Meeke, all scholars, and Richard Standley, servitor. I have not found a reason for this, for even a *foundation* scholar, as we know Fludger to have been (see *ante*, Appendix D., p. 136) would have been liable for caution.

It was not unusual for men to leave owing considerable sums to the College, and so without having their caution money returned. From time to time a convention of the Master and fellows was held to investigate such cases, and settle the accounts. A convention of this kind was held on 26 Mch. 1730, and another on 26 Mch. 1740, a record of which is entered up at the end of the caution book. In 1740 twenty cases were dealt with, beginning with that of Jeremiah Whitehouse. In every case but two the amount owing was given as balancing exactly the amount of the caution money : whether this represented the actual facts or was a polite fiction to effect a settlement, I cannot say. But in each of the two cases mentioned (the two last on the list) the caution money was given as £7-0-0 and the battels not discharged as £6-18-6. So that on the whole account of £123 for twenty men, there was a balance in favour of the College of 3<sup>s</sup>/-, which sum was paid into the College chest. At future conventions the College was always similarly a little to the good :—in 1745, £75 against £71-12-0 ; in 1751, £75 against £73-13-6 ; in 1756, £45 against £44-7-0 ; and in 1766, £69 against £66-7-3½.

Johnson himself was one of the men whose cases were considered at this 1740 convention (see *ante*, App. H., p. 169), and in addition to

Whitehouse, batteller, six other men who had lived with Johnson in College were in the same boat—Joshua Ellis, batteller, Edward Stephens Estcourt, commoner, George Skipp, commoner, George Kirtland, batteller, Robert Howell, batteller, and his friend Andrew Corbet, gentleman commoner. It might be argued that all these men had had to leave because of their financial position in College, but it hardly seems likely that Andrew Corbet, the heir to a considerable estate, was in such money difficulties as to be unable to find the modest sum of £10. Besides, it cannot be contended that the College accounts were kept with such accuracy, and under such close scrutiny, that directly a man's debt reached the amount of his caution money he was told to go ; because a number of the charges which made up the total of his undischarged battels, as considered at the convention, had been incurred *after he left*.

I am much obliged to Mrs. L. F. Powell for a tabulated abstract of the entries in the caution book from 1724 to 1729 inclusive, made by kind permission of Mr. Lionel E. Salt the bursar.

In most cases a man matriculated, paid his caution money, and came into residence, all within a short space of time. But sometimes a considerable period elapsed after matriculation before the caution money was paid. Oliver Edwards, for instance, matric. 25 June 1729, but did not pay his caution till 9 Oct. 1729, when he first came into residence. And Ambrose Hallett, who matric. 19 May 1729, did not pay till 3 Feb. 1729/30, just after he too had first come into residence. And James Le Marchant matric. 6 May 1729 and paid on 31 Oct. 1729, just after starting residence. These cases suggest that payment of caution money was usually delayed until actual residence began, though the name was entered in the buttery book on formal entry into College. There were longer delays in such cases as that of Peter Creed, Edward Stephens Estcourt, William Herring, Edward Moy and Erlysman Peachy, but for these men I have not the dates when residence began.

In a good number of cases, such as those of Oliver Edwards, John Hayward (the commoner), Francis Henchman, Edward Moy, Josias Packwood, Erlysman Peachy, William Skynner, William Weltden, and Thomas Wight, the name was removed from the buttery books when the caution money was repaid. But this was by no means a

general rule, for the names of Robert Fenton (repaid 26 July 1731), James Hallett (repaid 16 Dec. 1730), Benjamin and Nicholas Hyett (both repaid 28 Apl. 1729), James Le Marchant (repaid 22 Mch. 1730/1), and Henry Toye (repaid 21 May 1731), were all still on the buttery books in Oct. 1731. No charges, however, were booked against any of these six men, after their caution money had been returned to them, except in the case of James Le Marchant, who migrated to Jesus College, yet who seems to have put in a few odd weeks residence at Pembroke after receiving back his caution.

In each biography I have given particulars, derived from the buttery books, of the member's residence in College, usually only to show for what period, if any, he was there with Johnson. The remarks on one another, sometimes of a rather ribald character, scribbled in the buttery books by the more irresponsible undergraduates, I also quote, so far as they are decipherable. I have added dates and other particulars from the "Register of Fellows," which I owe to the kindness of Mr. R. G. Collingwood, the College Librarian. To Mrs. L. F. Powell I owe an exact copy of the list of subscribers to *Husbands's Miscellany* in 1731 (see *post*, p. 195), which I quote whenever applicable. Another valuable source, for information of some of the men, has been the manuscript collections of Richard Rawlinson [1690-1755], in the Bodleian Library, for a new edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Mr. Roland Austin, Public Librarian of Gloucester, has supplied valuable information from the Gloucester Diocesan Records; and particulars of local men have been given me by the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, F.S.A. (Shropshire), Mr. Francis Green (South Wales), Madame J. A. Messervy (Jersey), and Miss Edith F. Carey (Guernsey), to all of whom I am much obliged, as also to a large number of local clergy who have kindly supplied me with particulars of their predecessors. Contrary to my usual practice, I have had, in each case, to consolidate the evidence and relegate the references (to which of course Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* should always be added) to the end, in order to keep the whole from swelling to an impossible length.

The Master of the College is not entered in the buttery books, either under his title or surname. The Master during Johnson's time was Matthew Panting, who matric. from Pembroke on 5 Nov. 1698, aged 15, as son of Matthew Panting, of Oxford city, *pleb.*; he took his



B.A. 13 Oct. 1702 and his M.A. 13 June 1705. He was elected a fellow 27 Apl. 1705, in place of Christopher Tesdale, on the Tesdale foundation. Ord. deacon 25 Nov. 1705, and priest 30 May 1708, both at Oxford. Presented by George I. to rectory of St. Ebb's, Oxford, 19 Aug. 1714. Elected Master of Pembroke 3 Sept. 1714, in succession to Colwell Brickenden. S.T.B. and S.T.P. 6 July 1715. Held St. Ebbs till 1719; Vicar of Colne Rogers, co. Glouc., from 1718 till his death on 12 Feb. 1738/9, aged 55. Admon. of his goods was granted, in P.C.C., Mch. 1739/40, to his relict. He was succeeded as Master by John Ratcliff (see *post*, p. 203). There used to be an inscription to his memory in St. Aldate's, where he was burd. A Jacobite and high churchman, it does not appear that he was a man of any particular eminence. He published *Religious Vows, a Sermon preach'd at the consecration of a Chapell in Pembroke College in Oxford on Monday July 10, 1732. Oxford 1732* (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII. [Macleane's "Pembroke College"], 321, 512, 520; *MS. Rawl.* 4<sup>o</sup> 4, fol. 179). He was mard. on 28 Jany. 1716/17, at Brockhall, to Mary (bapt. 28 Dec. 1699 at Brockhall), elder dau. of Thomas Thornton [1664-1719], of Brockhall, Northants., High Sheriff 1698, by Elizabeth his wife [1674-1737], dau. of William Ward, who mard. in 1720, as her second husband, William Trimnell, D.D., Dean of Winchester, the father of Edward Trimnell, who was at Pembroke with Johnson (see *post*, p. 209). Mrs. Panting's brother, Thomas Thornton [1698-1783], had entered Pembroke in 1715 (see *post*, p. 208), under Panting's Mastership, which perhaps led to the marriage in 1717. Mrs. Panting was burd. at Brockhall on 13 June 1772, leaving issue (*Victoria County History*, "Northamptonshire Families," ed. Oswald Barron, 1906; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Thornton of Brockhall").

**ADAMS, WILLIAM**, born 17 Aug. 1706, at Shrewsbury, and bapt. 3 Sept. 1706 at St. Chad's there, son of Alderman John A., ironmonger, and Mayor in 1726, by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Edward Jorden, of Priors Lee, Salop, by Margaret his wife, dau. of Alexander Wightwick of Wightwick, and thus of founder's kin at Pembroke as well as first cousin to William Jorden (see *ante*, Appendix B., p. 124). Ed. Shrewsbury Free School. Matric. 6 Aug. 1720, aged 13; scholar 1720; B.A. 1724; M.A. 18 April 1727. In regular residence with Johnson, except for summer vacation of 1729. Admitted fellow 15 May 1723, on Wightwick foundation, in place of Brian Roberts; succeeded by John Wightwick 1 Aug. 1732. Ord.



deacon 22 Dec. 1728 by Bp. of Oxf. ; priest by same on 20 Dec. 1730. " The Rev. William Adams, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers, 1731. Presented by Lord Chancellor to perp. curacy of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury ; instituted 26 Feb. 1731/2, inducted 11 Mch. 1731/2, when he left Pembroke. Name disappears from buttery books after 7 Mch. 1734/5. Canon of Lichfield 1747 ; Canon of Llandaff 1749, and Precentor 1750. Rector of Holgate, Salop, 1748. Rector of Counde, Salop, 1755 to death. Proceeded B.D. and D.D. at Oxford 1756, and then returned to Shrewsbury. Rector of Bedwas, Mon., and of Cwm, Flints., 1774. On 26 July 1775 succeeded John Ratcliff (see *post*, p. 203) as Master of Pembroke, thus becoming a Prebendary of Gloucester, and resigned St. Chad's. Archdeacon of Llandaff 1777. Died 13 Jany. 1789 at his prebendal house at Gloucester, and burd. in Cathedral. Principal work, *Essay on Mr. Hume's Essay on Miracles*, 1752. Mard. 12 July 1742, at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, to Sarah (died Apl. 1785 ; burd. in St. Aldate's, Oxf.), dau. of Thomas Hunt, of Boreatton, Salop, and sister of Rowland Hunt, who himself mard. Adams's sister Katherine (see *post*, p. 194). Adams left an only surviving child, Sarah (born 28 Mch. 1746), who was mard. 10 July 1788 to Benjamin Hyett [1743-1810], of Painswick House, co. Glouc., and died June 1804 without issue. Benjamin was son of Nicholas Hyett (see *post*, p. 195) (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; *Oxford Hist Soc.*, XXXIII., 393-6 ; *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1853, " Hyett of Painswick " ; Howard and Crisp's *Visitation of England and Wales*, " Notes," vol. 8, pp. 84-5 ; *MS. Rawl. J. fol. 2, f. 4*).

**ASHE, ROBERT**, son of James A., of Bradford, Wilts., gent. Matric. 12 Apl. 1727, aged 17 ; B.A. 22 Feb. 1730/1. Commoner, paid £7 caution 14 Dec. 1727 ; repaid 13 Mch. 1731/2. In residence with Johnson, but irregularly. " Mr. Robert Ash, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Ox.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. M.A. from King's Coll., Camb., 1737. Not to be confused with Robert Ashe [1718-74], of Worcester Coll., Rector of Langley Burrell, Wilts., 1743 to death (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

**BAKER, AARON**, son of Aaron B., of St. Michael, Oxf., *arm.* Matric. 19 July 1729, aged 18 ; B.A. 1733 ; M.A. 1736. Commoner, paid £7 caution 22 July 1729 ; repaid 13 July 1736. First appears in buttery books 25 July 1729, but not in residence till Feb. 1729/30, after Johnson had left.

**BAKER, SAMUEL**, born 7 Feb. 1670, son of Rev. Joseph B. [1626-68], of Prestwood, Staffs. Ed. Derby. Matric. 19 Mch. 1686/7, aged 17 ; B.A. 1690 ; M.A. 30 June 1693 ; B. and D.D. 1 Apl. 1728. Name appears through Johnson's time, among " doctors," but not in residence. Ord. deacon by Bp. of Bristol 2 Sept. 1695, and priest by Bp. of Oxf. on 19 June 1698. Presented by Drapers' Co. to rectory of St. Michael's, Cornhill, instituted 3 May, inducted 5 May 1705. Prebendary of St. Paul's 17 June 1723, and Canon Residentiary 9 Mch. 1727, both to death. Presented by St. Paul's to rectory of Barnes, Surrey, instituted 15 Dec., inducted 17 Dec. 1730. Died 2 Sept. 1749 ; buried 8 Sept. at Barnes, aged 81. Will of Samuel Baker, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, dated 28 June 1742,

proved 16 Sept. 1749 in P.C.C. [Lisle 274]. His mother Anne, dau. of John Swynfen, M.P., was aunt of Samuel Swynfen (see *post*, p. 207); she died 17 Aug. 1719, aged 83, having mard. 2<sup>ndly</sup> James Hancox, Minister of Wortfield, Salop, grandfather of John Wightwick, who mard. his niece, Ann Baker (see *post*, p. 212). His aunt, Mary Swynfen, wife of Thomas Willington, was grandmother of George Skipp (see *post*, p. 206). Confused by Foster, Hennessy, and Warrand, with Samuel Baker (born *circa* 1689), of Peterhouse, Camb., Rector of Settrington, Yorks., from 1722, Canon of York 1735-41, and Chancellor 1741-9 (uncle of John Baker Holroyd [1735-1821], 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Sheffield), who died 9 Nov. 1749, unmard., and whose will, as of Samuel Baker, of Settrington, co. York, D.D., dated 6 Sept. 1738, was proved 20 Dec. 1749 at York. Even Maclean, the historian of Pembroke, speaks of a gift of £300 from "Dr. Samuel Baker, Canon and Chancellor of York (entered 1687)," and repeats the error in regard to another gift of £50 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Geo. Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1898; *Victoria County History*, "Hertfordshire Families," ed. Warrand, p. 25; Arthur Collins's *Peerage*, 1812, IX., 239; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 300, 362; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1749, pp. 429, 524; *MS. Rawl. J. fol. 6, f. 39*).

**BEAUVOIR, WILLIAM**, son of Thomas B. [1632-85], Jurat of the Guernsey Royal Court, by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Philemon Manger, also a Jurat. Born 30 Jany., bapt. 16 Feb. 1678/9. Matric. 27 Oct. 1697, aged 18; B.A. 1701; M.A. 3 July 1704, and fellow; B. and D. Med. 10 July 1710. Francis Le Couteur adm. fellow in his place 19 July 1711. Regius Prof. of Medicine at Oxf. 1729, till death on 3 Feb. 1729/30. On 23 Jan. 1713/14 another Guernsey man, Nicholas Le Pelley, wrote to him from Pembroke Coll., as to whether he should adopt profession of medicine. Beauvoir was an only surviving child, and died unmard. There is no charge against his name throughout Johnson's time, and it disappears after 13 Feb. 1729/30. Hearne records that he was esteemed "a Gentleman of great Learning, Humanity and skill in his Profession." His will, dated 3 Feb. 1729/30 (the day of his death), was witnessed by Samuel Baker (preceding). (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXVII., 246; *Hist. Reg. Chronicle*, 1730, p. 15; inf. of Miss Edith F. Carey).

**BLANDY, WILLIAM**, son of John B., of Letcombe Bassett, Berks., gent. Matric. 2 Nov. 1704, aged 16; B.A. 1708; M.A. 19 Apl. 1711. Adm. fellow 1712/13, on Tesdale foundation, in place of Thomas Collins, and succeeded 14 Oct. 1731 by John Meeke (see *ante*, Appendix E., p. 140). "The Rev. William Blandy, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon. (deceased)," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. In Aug. 1720 he was co-bursar with William Jorden. In residence fitfully with Johnson. In 1723 published "Proposals for publishing by Subscription . . . . The Chronological Tables of the Reverend Mr. Adam Blandy A.M., etc. Rector of Wheatfield in Oxfordshire, and sometime Fellow of Pembroke College in Oxford [his brother] . . . . By William Blandy." Ord. deacon 20 Dec. 1713, and priest 21 Feb. 1713/14 (*MS. Rawl. J. 4° 2, f. 294*; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 323).

**BLOXAM, MATTHEW**. See *ante*, Appendix G., pp. 151-3.

**BLY, THOMAS**, son of Thomas B., of Adderbury, Oxon., *pleb.* Matric. 23 May 1722, aged 17; B.A. 1726; M.A. Apl. 1729. In residence during Johnson's first term, but after for only a few short spells. "The Rev. Mr. Bly, A.M. of Pembroke College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Instituted to rectory of Thenford 15 July 1730; resigned and was succeeded by Arthur Lewis, who was instituted 16 Mch. 1774 (*Baker's Northants.*, I., 716).

**BRENT, ROGER**, son of Robert B., of Thrup, par. of Kidlington, Oxon., *gent.* Matric. 2 Dec. 1707, aged 17; B.A. 1711; M.A. 1714. Adm. fellow 17 Mch. 1713/14, on Tesdale foundation, in place of Thomas Plott; succeeded 11 Oct. 1754 by Robert Knight, A.M. In residence with Johnson only a few odd weeks. "The Rev. Roger Brent, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of St. Aldate's, Oxford, from 1743. Died 19 Aug. 1754; burd. at St. Aldate's (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 512; *London Mag.*, 1754, p. 380).

**CAREW, JOHN**, son of John C., of Liskeard, Cornwall, *gent.* Matric. 1 July 1726, aged 17; B.A. Aug. 1730; M.A. 1733. Commoner, paid £7 caution 1 July 1726, repaid 19 July 1733. In regular residence through every week of Johnson's time. Buttery book scribblings:—1728-29, "Tall Boy Carew alias Longer—Tall Boy Carew—Tall Boy Carew—Carew alias Longguts shanks"—1729-30, "Samuel Carew—John Longutts—Carew John alias or John Carew—Ubi Carew ibi Long est et ubi Long est ibi honest Jack Carew"—1730-31, "Pinnock, Carew, Tapin, Laurence, cum multis aliis quos nunc perscribere longum."

**CASWELL, SAMUEL**, son of Samuel C., of Hartlebury, co. Worc., *pleb.* Matric. 13 Feb. 1721/2, aged 17; B.A. 22 Feb. 1725/6. Appears among bachelors of arts until 21 Mch. 1728/9, but not in residence with Johnson. "The Rev. Mr. Caswell" among Husbands's subscribers of 1731.

**CHAPMAN, WALTER**, third "son of Mr. Wallter Chapman, junr., saddler," was bapt. 28 June 1711, at Bath Abbey Church; his father [1669-1729], descended of an old Bath family, mard. Mary Morgan [1670?-1741], and was Mayor in 1726. Matric. 14 Mch. 1728/9, aged 16; B.A. 1732; M.A. 1735. "Gualterus Chapman," commoner, first appears in buttery books on 7 Mch. 1728/9; thereafter in regular residence with Johnson, except for summer vacation; scholar from 11 Dec. 1730. Paid £7 caution 14 Mch. 1728/9; repaid 19 Jany. 1732/3. Adm. fellow 15 Dec. 1732, on Bennet of Ossulston foundation, in place of John Husbands; succeeded by Samuel Wills 23 Mch. 1738/9. On 24 May 1736 he was acting as librarian (see *ante*, Appendix C., p. 132). Master of St. John's Hospital, Bath, from 1737. Installed Prebendary of Bristol, 15 Feb. 1745/6. Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts., from about May 1754. Mard. in 1744 (or a little earlier) Susanna Dingley [died Sept. 1758], grand-dau. of Robert Dingley [d. 1741], of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and had six children, of whom one, Charles, was bapt. 21 Feb. 1757 at Bath Abbey Church, where, on 7 June 1763, Walter Chapman, "of this par.," widower, was mard. by lic. to Ann Fitzer, of Widcomb, Bath, widow ("a Widow Lady with a large Fortune"). "Mrs. Kitty Fitzer" had



been one of *Husbands's* subscribers in 1731. In July 1786 he was described as "of Weston, near Bath." At his death, "at Shirehampton, after a lingering illness," on 25 Apl. 1791, aged 80, he still held his two preferments, but he never seems to have done duty at Bradford; burd. at Bristol Cathedral. According to *Gent.'s Mag.*, "he was not only a contemporary and fellow-collegian, but had lived in habits of the closest intimacy with the late Dr. Johnson, Mr. Shenstone, and many other literary characters." In his will (at Wells) he directed that his exors. "destroy all my papers of every kind and sort, sermons as well as all other writings and manuscripts"; and bequeathed his picture of Eleanor Gwynn to his friend Thomas Bonnor, of Gloucester, engraver (*Harleian Soc.*, "Register Section," XXVII., 84, 134, 274; *Mrs. Chapman's Portrait, A Beauty of Bath of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, by Ruth Young, 1926, where the frontispiece is of Dr. Chapman's first wife, Susanna Dingley, while his own portrait (a very pleasing one) is reproduced opp. p. 37; *European Mag.*, 1791, p. 399; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1746, p. 108; 1763, p. 313; 1786, p. 714; 1791, p. 489).

**CLAYTON, JASPER**, son of Jasper C., of Fethard, co. Carlow, Ireland, *arm.* Matric. 7 July 1721, aged 17. As gentleman commoner, name appears through Johnson's time, but without charge; omitted after 11 June 1731. Erasmus Philipps (see *post*, p. 201) mentions him several times in his diary. On 10 May 1722, "Rode out w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Jasper Clayton to Marsham (6 miles from Oxford), the beautiful Seat of his Father, Jasper Clayton, Esqr, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. This House is delicately situated, & adorned w<sup>th</sup> good Gardens, Fishponds, &c. Saw the Colonel, and young Master Clayton." On 16 May 1722 meets "Mr. Clayton's three Sisters (all fine bred women; the youngest, Miss Charlotte, is a beautiful Creature, and has a deal of L'Esprit)." No doubt his father was "Jasper Clayton, Colonel 14 foot 1713, Lt.-Genl. 1739," given in "Musgrave's Obituary" (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 366, 443, 444; *Harl. Soc.*, XLV., 13).

**COLLINS, JOHN**, son of Rev. Thomas C., of St. Ebbs, Oxford, Master of Magdalen Coll. School. Matric. 21 Nov. 1729, aged 15; B.A. 1733; admitted fellow, on Tesdale foundation, 14 June 1733, and succeeded by William Hawkins, A.B., 17 June 1772; M.A. 1736; proctor 1743. First appears in buttery books on 14 Nov. 1729, as scholar; but not in residence till June 1730, after Johnson's time (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXV., 58). And see *ante*, p. 16.

**COLLINS, WALTER**, son of Rev. Francis C. (B.A. Christ Church, 1696), of Bradley, nr. Stafford. Matric. 25 May 1723, aged 18; B.A. 2 Mch. 1726/7. Not in residence with Johnson, and name disappears after 10 Jan. 1728/9. M.A. from Emmanuel Coll., Camb., 1737. Died 5 Oct. 1782, aged 78, at Barton, Staffs. His will, as of Barton, par. of Bradley, clerk, dated 1 Dec. 1781, was proved 27 Sept. [?] 1782, at Lichfield, by the Rev. Thomas C. (his younger son, born at Bradley about 1748, M.A. of Worc. Coll., Oxf., and later D.D.), power reserved for Elizabeth the widow (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1782, p. 503).

**CONANT, JOHN**, son of Robert C. [1670-1756], citizen of London, and Mary



Medlicot his wife. Matric. 20 Nov. 1723, aged 16; B.A. 1727; M.A. Apl. 1730. In pretty regular residence during Johnson's time, except for summer vacation of 1729. Buttery book scribbings:—1728-29, "Conant is an honest . . . ."—1729-30, "Decessit a Coll. Pemb. John Conant 20 Martii." "Mr. Robert Conant," and "The Rev. John Conant, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of Hastingleigh, Kent, 1734 to death; Vicar of Elmsted, Kent, 1758; Prebendary of Llanvair in Bangor Cathedral. Mural tablet at Hastingleigh records that he died in London 2 Apl. 1779, aged 73, and was burd. at St. George's, Bloomsbury. Mard. 1733 Mary, dau. of Rev. William Wake; his son, Sir Nathaniel C., Chief Magistrate at Bow Street (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Conant of Lyndon Hall"; inf. of Vicar of Elmsted).

**CORBET, ANDREW.** See *ante*, Appendix A., pp. 119-123.

**COX, JOHN**, son of John (or Joseph) C., of Stanford, Berks., gent. Matric. 6 Nov. 1724, aged 19; B.A. 1728, M.A. 1732. Scholar, in regular residence through Johnson's time, except summer vacation of 1729. Adm. fellow Feb. 1728/9, on Tesdale foundation, and succeeded 5 July 1756, by James Burnell, A.B. "The Rev. Mr. Cox, Fellow of Pembroke-College," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731.

**CRAWLEY, THOMAS**, eldest son of Thomas C., of Flaxley Abbey, co. Glouc., J.P., by Susanna his wife, dau. of John Lloyd. His father assumed the additional name of Boevey in 1726, on inheriting Flaxley from Katherine, relict of William Boevey, and famous as the "Perverse Widow" of *The Spectator*. Born 11 Sept. 1709 at Gloucester; matric. 5 Mch. 1728/9. Gentleman commoner, on books by 4 Oct. 1728, but not in residence till 28 Feb. 1728/9, when his Christian name "Thomas" is added in margin; remained till May, and came back in Oct. for two months. So had four or five months' co-residence with Johnson. Paid £10 caution 5 Mch. 1728/9; repaid 18 Mch. 1731/2. Matric. as "Thomas Crawley Boevey," and occurs thus in caution book; but in butterfly books as "Mr. Crawley." Did not graduate. Mard. 31 Mch. 1743 (as T.C.B.) his cousin Susanna (died Mch. 1762), dau. of John Lloyd. Died 28 Nov. 1769; burd. with wife at Flaxley. His eldest son, Sir Thomas Crawley-Boevey [1745-1818], 2<sup>nd</sup> bart. (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1743, p. 217; Burke's *Peerage*, under Crawley-Boevey, bart.).

**CRAWLEY, WILLIAM**, a younger brother of Thomas Crawley Boevey (preceding). Born at Gloucester. Matric. 21 Nov. 1729, aged 18; B.A. 1733; M.A. 1736. "Gulielmus Crawley," scholar, first appears in butterfly books on 14 Nov. 1729; in residence for some time afterwards, so was with Johnson for a few weeks. Adm. fellow 5 Mch. 1738, in place of John Ratcliffe, S.T.B., on Tesdale foundation; succeeded by Lionel Kirkham, A.M., 9 Dec. 1763. Perpetual curate of Flaxley, 1742 till death. Rector of Gravesend till death, unmard., on 28 Nov. 1780. "Mr. William Crawley, of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," one of Husbands's subscribers, 1731. Witnessed John Meeke's will, 6 Jan. 1737/8 (*ante*, Appendix E., p. 141). (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1780, p. 589; Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 583; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VI., 699).

**CREED, JOHN**, son of Peter C., of Stoke Fleming, Devon, *pleb.* Matric. 20 Mch. 1702/3, aged 16; B.A. 15 Oct. 1706; M.A. 28 June 1710; B. and D.D. 1721. S.T.B. and S.T.P. 20 Nov. 1721. Name appears through Johnson's time, but not in residence. Instituted Vicar of Buckland Monachorum, 6 Mch. 1709/10. Canon of Wells, 1728. Rector of Ashcombe, Devon, 1729. Rebuilt vicarage at Buckland, where he died, and was burd. 28 Feb. 1744/5. Rawlinson gives two sermons preached by him, at Buckland in 1714, and at Bath Abbey Church in 1715 (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 297; *MS. Rawl. J.* 4° 3, f. 133; inf. of Vicar of Buckland).

**CREED, PETER**, son of Peter C., of Stoke Fleming, Devon, gent. Matric. 30 Oct. 1723, aged 15; B.A. 10 Mch. 1728/9. Nephew of preceding; entered as kin-exhibitioner. In residence during Johnson's time, as commoner, except for last term of 1729; name disappears after Oct. 1730. Paid £7 caution, as commoner, 17 June 1724; repaid 11 Feb. 1730/1 to John Ratchliff. Presented portrait of Francis Rous to Pembroke (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 297).

**DARKE, JOHN**, son of John D., of Alstone, co. Worc. gent. Matric. 13 Apl. 1725, aged 14; B.A. 10 Mch. 1728/9; M.A. 1732. Scholar, in residence with Johnson, except for summer vacation of 1729 and last term. Paid £7 caution 25 Mch. 1725; repaid 17 July 1732. Succeeded Matthew Bloxam (see *ante*, Appendix G., p. 152) 12 July 1768 as Vicar of Overbury, co. Worc., holding it in plurality with Ashchurch. Will of John Darke, of Overbury, co. Worc., clerk, dated 24 Apl. 1778; admon. granted 28 Nov. 1788, in P.C.C. [Calvert 531], to Mary Darke, spinster (niece), Ann Darke, wife, and extrix. named in will, having died in testator's lifetime. Mary, wife of John Darke of Alston, was burd. 22 Feb. 1715/6 at Alston. John Darke, "many years Vicar of this Parish," was burd. at Overbury on 7 Aug. 1788, and Ann his wife on 30 June 1787 (inf. of Vicar of Overbury).

**DAVIES, JOHN**, son of John D., of Cranham, co. Glouc., gent. Matric. 25 Oct. 1722, aged 18. Commoner, not in residence with Johnson, and name disappears after 3 Jan. 1728/9.

**DICKEN, WILLIAM**, son of William D., of Kenston, par. of Hodnet, Salop, *pleb.*, and Mary his wife. Bapt. 20 Sept. 1712 at Hodnet. Matric. 3 Mch. 1728/9, aged 16; B.A. 12 Mch. 1732/3. Batteller, first appears 14 Feb. 1728/9; in residence till June, but not again with Johnson; in residence in 1730 and 1731. Paid £4 caution 20 Feb. 1728/9; repaid 20 Mch. 1732/3 to John Wightwick. Name scribbled several times in buttery books 1729-31, but no comments (inf. of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher).

**DOWNES, JOHN**, son of John D., of Painswick, co. Glouc., *pleb.* Born there 1658. Matric. 15 Oct. 1674, aged 16; B.A. 1678; M.A. 19 Apl. 1681. Scholar; name among masters of arts till 19 Feb. 1730/1, but not in residence with Johnson. Ord. deacon 29 May 1681, priest 4 Mch. 1682, by Bp. of Oxford. Vicar of Painswick 1701. As chaplain to Bp. of Bristol had dispensation to hold Rectory of Sedgewerrow, co. Worc., 1727. Canon of Worc., 1727, and Prebendary. Commissioner

of land tax. Died 2 Oct. 1736. Published sermon preached at Painswick on 20 Jany. 1714/15. Widow Elizabeth died 2 May 1753; burd. Painswick (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, "Painswick," pp. 307-8; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1736, p. 620; *Hist. Reg. Chron.*, 1736, p. 56; *London Mag.*, 1736, p. 581; *MS. Rawl. J. fol.* 6, f. 180; *J.* 4<sup>to</sup> 4, f. 134).

**DUGARD, SAMUEL**, son of Rev. William D. (M.A. Pembroke 1701), of Gosport, Hants. Matric. 3 Apl. 1723, aged 16; B.A. 1726; M.A. 1733. Not in residence with Johnson, and name disappears Jany. 1728/9. Husbands's subscribers of 1731 included "The Rev. Mr. Samuel Dugard, Fifteen Copies." Rector of Warblington, Hants., 1740-52; Minister of Trinity Chapel, Gosport, 1752-66. Rector of Westbourne, Sussex, 1766, and Vicar of Stoughton and of Bersted same year. Held three livings till death on 17 Feb. 1776, at Westbourne, aged 72; burd. there. Library sold in 1777 by John Pridden, of Fleet Street. Signed his name "Du Gard," and thus in buttery books (*Sussex Archl. Coll.*, Vol. XXII; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1776, p. 142; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 661).

**EATON, MATTHEW**, son of Christopher E., of Oxf. city, gent. (or *pleb.*). Matric. 7 Dec. 1708, aged 16; B.A. 1712; M.A. 1715. Admitted fellow 21 June 1710, on Wightwick foundation, in place of Theophilus Cox; succeeded 11 Dec. 1728 by John Fludger (see *ante*, Appendix D., p. 136). Bursar Oct. 1724 to Oct. 1725. Not in residence with Johnson, and name disappears after 18 Dec. 1730. "The Rev. Mr. Eaton, late Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," one of Husbands's subscribers of 1731.

**EDWARDS, OLIVER**. See *ante*, Appendix F., pp. 143-50.

**ELLIS, JOSHUA**, son of Joseph E., of Elmore, co. Glouc., who died 9 Nov. 1740, aged 57, and was burd. at Elmore with his wife Elizabeth, who died 26 Sept. 1738, aged 50. Matric. 14 Dec. 1727, aged 17. Batteller, paid £4 caution 16 Dec. 1727, and £3 on 31 Oct. 1728, becoming a commoner. In residence during Johnson's first term, as commoner, and from Feb. to June 1729, but did not return till just before Johnson left. Still in residence, irregularly, down to Oct. 1731. Took no degree. At the convention of 26 Mch. 1740 his caution of £7 was balanced exactly against his undischarged battels. Brother to Daniel Ellis, of Gloucester, ancestor of family of "Ellis-Viner of Badgeworth," who showed his matric. record to Dr. Birkbeck Hill (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 562; Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, II., 85; Burke's *Landed Gentry*).

**ESTCOURT, EDWARD STEPHENS**, son of Gerrard E., of Alderley, co. Glouc., gent. Matric. 12 Apl. 1727, aged 19; B.A. 23 Feb. 1730/1. Commoner, paid £7 caution 20 Feb. 1727/8, which was balanced exactly against his undischarged battels at the convention of 26 Mch. 1740. In regular residence with Johnson till July 1729, and for a few weeks at end of year. Elected Master of Sir Thomas Rich's Hospital at Gloucester, Mch. 1733. Ord. deacon 19 Dec. 1731 by Bp. of Salisbury. Subscribed on admission to priesthood 15 Aug. 1735. Ord. priest,



17 Aug. 1735; lic. next day to curacies of Rudford and Sandhurst, co. Glouc. Adm. curate of Churchdown, co. Glouc., 6 Dec. 1735. Thomas Thache lic. 1 July 1736 to Churchdown, void by death of E.S.E. Perhaps grandson of Edward Stephens, of Alderley, who mard. Mary, dau. of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1733, p. 159; Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 34; inf. of Roland Austin).

**EYNON, WILLIAM**, son of John E., of Popehill, par. of Johnston, co. Pembroke, gent., who in his will, dated 26 June 1724 and proved 8 Jany. 1724/5, directed that his son William, to whom he left £90, should be maintained at "Oxford University (as now he is and hath been) for two years by my executrix." Matric. 18 June 1722, aged 17; B.A. 1726. Still among bachelors of arts on Johnson's entry, but disappears Dec. 1728; not in residence. "The Rev. Mr. William Eynon, Twelve Copies," among *Husbands's* subscribers of 1731 (inf. of Francis Green).

**FENTON, ROBERT**, youngest son of John F. [1665-1746], of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and of Fenton Park, Staffs., by Elizabeth [mard. 1693; died 1748], dau. of Robert Bagnall, of Fenton Park. Nephew of Elijah Fenton [1683-1730], the poet, whom Johnson described as born "of an ancient family, whose estate was very considerable," and who had been a friend of Johnson's cousin, "Parson" Ford. Born 26 Oct. 1707 at Newcastle. Matric. 19 Mch. 1724/5, aged 17; B.A. Oct. 1728; M.A. 8 July 1731. Commoner, paid £7 caution 18 Mch. 1724/5 (by Mr. Adams); repaid 26 July 1731. In residence with Johnson from Feb. 1728/9 till June 1729, and returned after Johnson left. "Robert Fenton, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Oxon., Two Copies," among *Husbands's* subscribers of 1731. Perpetual Curate of St. Giles, Newcastle-under-Lyme, from 1731 to death on 11 Mch. 1760. Burd. at St. Giles, where a mural tablet records that he was "a man of learning, probity, and benevolence, strict and punctual in the discharge of his ministerial duty, particularly that important branch of visiting the sick, dispensing to them, as their necessities required, salutary medicines and pious admonitions in the constant and unaffected exercise of these and many other valuable qualities. He lived much esteemed and died greatly lamented." He mard. his cousin Jane Fenton, who died 11 Mch. 1756, aged 42, and had (with other issue) a dau. Elizabeth, who mard. her cousin Thomas Fenton [1737-92], of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and had issue. In his life of Elijah Fenton, Johnson said he had "sought intelligence among his relations in his native country, but have not obtained it" (*Johnson's Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 257; *Chetham Society*, LXIX., 92-3; Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*; John Sleight's *Leek*, 2nd ed., p. 160; *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 159-60, 164; inf. of T. Pape, F.S.A.).

**FLUDGER, JOHN**. See *ante*, Appendix D., pp. 135-9.

**FORTUNE, JOHN**, son of William F., of North Nibley, co. Glouc., gent., whose wife Elizabeth died 3 Dec. 1754, aged 84, and was burd. at Cam. Matric. 25 Mch.



1729, aged 19; B.A. 1732. Scholar, first appears 21 Mch. 1728/9; in residence June to Aug., and during Johnson's last term. Paid £7 caution 28 Mch. 1729; repaid 9 Feb. 1732/3. "Mr. Fortune," one of Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Ord. deacon 23 Sept. 1733 by Bp. of Peterborough; priest 19 May 1734 by Bp. of Rochester. Adm. pensioner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 28 June 1740, and took his M.A. thence same year. Instituted Rector of Wickwar, co. Glouc., 25 May 1734, and Rector of Tretyre with Michael Church, co. Hereford, 9 Aug. 1740, holding both till death in Mch. 1777. Chaplain to Richard, Lord Willoughby de Broke in 1740 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses; Admissions to St. John's Coll., Camb.*, Part III., ed. R. F. Scott, pp. 98, 508; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1777, p. 195; Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 273; inf. of Roland Austin).

**FOX, WILLIAM**, son of Rev. William F. (who was instituted Vicar of Wombourne, co. Staffs., Mch. 1695/6), and of Winifred his wife. Born 22 Apl. 1697, at Whiston, par. of Wombourne, where bapt. 26 Apl. 1697. Matric. 10 Apl. 1712, aged 14; B.A. 1715; M.A. 1718. As master of arts, name appears through Johnson's time, but not resident, and disappears after 31 July 1730. Instituted to vicarage of Sheriffhales, Salop, 25 Sept. 1741, and inducted 5 Oct. 1741 (as of Pemb. Coll. Oxf.); patron, John 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Gower. "The Reverend Mr. William Fox, Vicar of this parish, aged 83," was burd. 17 July 1779 at Sheriffhales (inf. of churchwarden of Sheriffhales, and of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher).

**FREEMAN, LANGTON**, fifth son of Richard F. [1677-1749], of Whilton, Northants. (Sheriff in 1712), by Elizabeth [1693?-1761], his second wife, dau. and heir of Joseph Langton, of Muscott, Northants. Bapt. 28 Nov. 1710 at Whilton. Matric. 28 Mch. 1729, aged 18. Commoner, first appears on 28 Mch. 1729; in residence with Johnson May to June and for last term of 1729; still in residence Oct. 1731. Paid £7 caution 12 May 1729; £5-18-6 repaid to John Garney 13 Mch. 1734/5. "Mr. Langton Freeman, of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," was among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of Bilton, co. Warw., from 1759 till his death unmard. on 9 Oct. 1783, when he is described as "M.A." As his mother's eldest son, the manor of Whilton passed to him, under marr. settlement. Baker said his "eccentricities will be long remembered in the neighbourhood," and quotes his will, dated 16 Sept. 1783, in which are extraordinary directions as to his burial in a summer-house in his garden, where he was to be laid in his bed, "as near as may be to the description we receive in Holy Scripture of our Saviour's burial" (Baker's *Northants.*, I., 233; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1783, p. 893; inf. of Rector of Bilton).

**GODDARD, THOMAS**, son of Rev. Thomas G., of Wrington, co. Som. Matric. 20 Nov. 1723, aged 16; B.A. 1727; M.A. 1730. Adm. fellow 14 June 1727, on Tesdale foundation. In regular residence, as fellow, with Johnson, except for summer vacation of 1729. A Rev. Thomas Goddard, M.A., was Vicar of Clevedon, co. Som., from 1771 to his death on 8 Aug. 1789, as well as Vicar of South Petherton, and Minister of Barrow, in same co. (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1789, p. 768; inf. of Vicar of Clevedon).

**GODFRAY, CHARLES**, son of Edward G., of St. Clement, Jersey. Born St. Clement, 1708. Matric. 8 Nov. 1728, aged 18. "Carolus Godfrey," commoner, first appears 8 Nov. 1728; in residence Feb. to June 1729, with Johnson; and afterwards Apl.-July 1730 and May-Aug. 1731. Name scribbled a good many times in the buttery books 1728-32, but only twice with additions:—1728-9, "Charles Godfrey le 29<sup>me</sup> jour de Mars—il faut aimer pour tot etre heureux"; 1730-31, "Ch. Godfray le 1<sup>r</sup> Jour de Juin 1731." Paid £7 caution 12 Nov. 1728; repaid 16 Dec. 1732. Inducted to rectory of par. of St. Brelade, Jersey, 8 Mch. 1738-9. Rector of St. John, Jersey, 1743 to death. Burd. 5 Oct. 1778 in St. John's Cemetery. For many years before his death in bad health, and frequently absent from Statesittings, of which Rectors are ex-officio life-members. Mard. 1743 Louise [died 1768], 2<sup>nd</sup> dau. of Philippe Pipon, Seigneur of Noirmont and Jurat of the Royal Court (inf. of Madame J. A. Messervy).

**GODFRAY, EDWARD**, brother of preceding. Matric. 16 Nov. 1726, aged 18. Commoner, residence similar to brother's. Paid £7 caution 5 Sept. 1726; 1<sup>s</sup>/2 (all due, less battels) repaid 16 Dec. (no year) to brother Charles. Held no post or living in Jersey (inf. of Madame J. A. Messervy).

**GOODENOUGH, WILLIAM**, son of William G., of Broughton Poggs, Oxon., gent., who mard. Elizabeth, dau. of John Southby [1652?-1741], of Carswell, Berks., aunt of Bridget Southby who mard. Rev. John Hayward (see *post*, p. 192). Matric. 6 Mch. 1723/4, aged 17; B.A. 1727; M.A. 1732. In residence with Johnson fairly regularly except for last term of 1729; name omitted after 6 Nov. 1730. Commoner, paid £7 caution 28 Apl. 1724; repaid 25 June 1731 to John Taylor. Rector of Broughton Poggs, where his family held advowson, from 1743 to death. Held rectory of Kimpton, Hants., from 1740, for Edward Foyle, a distant relative, who came of age in 1750 and took living. Died 10 Nov. 1768, and burd. 16 Nov. at Broughton. "The Rev. Mr. Goodenough, of Pembroke-College, Ox.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Elizabeth, his wife, died 11 Nov. 1762, and was burd. at Broughton. His son Samuel Goodenough [1743-1827], born at Kimpton, Bishop of Carlisle, was educated at Witney under Benjamin Gutteridge (see next biog.). (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Southby of Carswell"; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VI., 245-6; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1768, p. 542; inf. of Rector of Broughton).

**GUTTERIDGE, BENJAMIN**, son of Charles G., of St. Helen's, Abingdon, *pleb.* Matric. 30 June 1725, aged 17; B.A. 18 Mch. 1729/30. Batteller, apparently in residence with Johnson for a week or two in June-July 1729. Paid £4 caution 30 June 1725; £1 repaid 30 Nov. [no year], and balance of £3 on 21 Mch. 1729/30. "The Rev. Mr. Guttridge" among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Junior master at Royse's School, Abingdon, in 1732. M.A. from Emmanuel Coll., Camb., 1748. As of Abingdon, clerk, appointed Master of Witney School, Oxon., 4 July 1748. "Beautified the school" in 1761. Samuel Goodenough (see preceding biog.) was placed at "a school of good repute at that time established at Witney, under the direction of a most excellent man, the Rev. Benjamin Gutteridge," says Nichols.

Retired 1767. Will of Benjamin Gutteridge, of Walcot, co. Som., clerk, dated 27 June 1783, with codicil of 12 Sept. 1785, proved 23 Jan. 1786; admon. also granted 29 Apl. 1788 [Norfolk 21]. Mentions his late wife Ann, and his late half-sister Mary Barker and her issue, but leaves most of his personal belongings and books, and residue of estate, to servant Ann Iszard (her husband not to intermeddle), whose dau. Mary Iszard afterwards mard. Joseph Barratt (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VI., 246; inf. of Mr. P. L. Collignon, of Witney, and Alderman A. E. Preston, J.P., of Abingdon).

**HALLETT, AMBROSE**, younger son of James H., lord of manor of Dunmow, co. Essex., by Mary his wife, dau. of the great ironmaster, Sir Ambrose Crowley, whose half-sister, Judith Crowley, had mard. Johnson's cousin, "Parson" Ford, in 1724. Grandson of Sir James Hallett, of Cheapside, goldsmith, "the King's jeweller." Matric. 19 May. 1729, aged 17. Commoner, first appears 16 May 1729, but does not seem to have come into residence until Jan. 1729/30, after Johnson left; in continuous residence 1730 and 1731, except for summer vacations. Paid £7 caution 3 Feb. 1729/30; repaid 12 Sept. 173 [blank] to James H., brother. Died 27 July 1732, aged 20, "of a Fall out of a Chaise. His Brother and the Coachman, who could not stop the Horses, were much hurt. The Footman afterward driving the same Horses to London, was kill'd, and a Man who gave a Shilling to ride broke his leg." "Mrs. Hallett," one of Husbands's subscribers, 1731. Richard Gough [1735-1809], the famous antiquary, mard. his niece Anne, dau. of Thomas Hall and Mary Hallett (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1732, p. 877; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXVII., 419; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1879, "Parlby of Manadon"; *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 169-70; *Notes and Queries*, 11<sup>th</sup> Series, IV., 530-1).

**HALLETT, JAMES**, elder brother of preceding. Matric. 16 May 1728, aged 18. Gentleman commoner, in regular residence through Johnson's time, and also in 1730; on books in 1731, but not resident. Paid £10 caution 3 June 1728; repaid 16 Dec. 1730. "Mr. Hallett, Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Of Dunmow Priory, Essex. Died 1767 (same refs. as to preceding).

**HARTE, WALTER**, son of Nathaniel H., of St. Helen's, Abingdon, *pleb.* Matric. 21 Oct. 1713, aged 15; B.A. 1717; M.A. 1720. Scholar, not resident during Johnson's time, and name removed Dec. 1730. "The Rev. Walter Harte, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. No doubt a kinsman of Edward Harte, of Abingdon, innholder, whose son the Rev. Walter Harte [1650?-1736], also of Pembroke, was father of Pope's friend the Rev. Walter Harte [1709-74], Canon of Windsor, praised by Johnson for his scholarship, and as "a man of the most companionable talents he had ever known" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 310; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 120; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

**HAYWARD, JOHN**, son of John H., of Redmarley, co. Worc., *pleb.* Matric. 1 July 1725, aged 20; B.A. 7 Mch. 1731/2 (as Heywood). Servitor, in residence



with Johnson about four weeks in Feb.-Mch. 1728/9, and a week or two in June-July 1729. Paid £3 caution 24 Feb. 1725/6; repaid 14 Mch. 1731/2. M.A. from King's Coll., Camb., 1735. Vicar of Frocester 1729 (*sic*? 1739) to death. Rector of Nymphsfield, co. Glouc., 1754-72. Chaplain to Lord Ducie. Died 14 May 1776, aged 71; burd. in Frocester Church (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

**HAYWARD, JOHN**, son of William H. [1670-1709], of Quedgeley House, co. Glouc. Matric. 14 Dec. 1727, aged 19; B.A. Christ Church 1731, M.A. 1734. Commoner, in residence with Johnson till summer vacation of 1729, and for about three weeks in Oct.-Nov. 1729, after which his name omitted. Paid £7 caution 16 Dec. 1727; repaid 10 Nov. 1729. "Mr. Hayward, commoner of Christ-Church, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of Withington, co. Glouc., from 25 Dec. 1732, till death at rectory there on 15 Feb. 1791, aged 83. J.P. co. Glouc. Mard. 26 June 1740 Bridget, dau. of Richard Southby, of Carswell, Berks. (see under William Goodenough, *ante*, p. 190), and had an only child, Sir Thomas Hayward [d. 1799], of Carswell (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1791, p. 190; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Hayward of Quedgeley House," and "Southby of Carswell"; *European Mag.*, 1791, p. 160).

**HENCHMAN, FRANCIS**, youngest son of Rev. Thomas H. [d. 1746], Prebendary of Sarum from 1717, and of Jane his wife, dau. of William Swanton, of Sarum. Matric. 28 Mch. 1729, aged 15; Corpus Christi Coll., B.A. 1732; M.A. 3 Feb. 1735/6 (Hutchins says fellow); B.D. 1744. Commoner, first appears 28 Mch. 1729; in residence with Johnson two or three weeks in Apl.-May, and then name omitted. Paid £7 caution 28 Mch. 1729; repaid 5 May 1729. Rector of Ruan, Cornwall, where he died 13 May 1777. Mard. Jane Pinckney, of Sarum, and had issue (Hutchins's *Dorset*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., II., 831; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1777, p. 247; *Notes and Queries*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, III., 257).

**HENSHAW, STEPHEN HOE**, born at Courteenhall, son of John H. [1680?-1762], of Roade, yeoman, and of Susanna his wife, dau. of Stephen Hoe, of Roade, by Mary his wife, dau. of Rev. Thurstan Toone, Rector of Collingtree, all in Northants. Matric. 24 May 1726, aged 17; B.A. July 1730. Batteller, in residence with Johnson during term times. Paid £4 caution 23 June 1726; repaid 10 Nov. 1731. Inducted 31 Oct. 1743 to vicarage of Chalgrave, Beds., where there was no vicarage house. Last signed register Dec. 1768, but retained living till death on 24 May 1772, aged 65; burd. at Roade (Baker's *Northants.*, II., 235; inf. of Vicar of Chalgrave.)

**HERRING, WILLIAM**, son of Rev. John H. (B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.), Vicar of Bickleigh, Devon. Born Bickleigh. Matric. 21 Oct. 1724, aged 17; B.A. 1728; M.A. 1731. In residence with Johnson for five weeks Feb.-Mch. 1728/9. Commoner, paid £7 caution 13 Nov. 1725; repaid 3 Aug. 1732 to James Treadwell ("cook"—see Foster's *Al. Ox.*). Not to be confused with William Herring [d. 1762], Chancellor of York, or his son William H. [1718-74], Dean of St. Asaph, both Cambridge men (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).



**HOAR, JOHN**, son of John H., of West Haddon, Northants., *pleb.* Matric. 2 Mch. 1727/8, aged 18; B.A. Oct. 1731. Batteller, in residence with Johnson during term times. Paid £4 caution 2 Mch. 1727/8; repaid £1 on 11 June 1729, and £3 remaining balanced exactly against undischarged battels at convention of 1745. M.A. from Christ's Coll., Camb., 1743 (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

**HOLBECH, EDWARD**, son of Thomas H., of Coventry, co. Warw., *pleb.* Matric. 17 June 1707, aged 18; B.A. 1711; M.A. 1727. Not in residence with Johnson, and name removed end of Mch. 1728/9. Rector of Caldecote, co. Warw., 1716.

**HORNE, SAMUEL**, son of Rev. Samuel H. [b. 1660], Rector of Brede, Kent, 1686-1702. Born Brede. Matric. 13 Mch. 1710/11, aged 17; B.A. 1714; M.A. 1717; Junior Dean in 1720. Mentioned in Philipps's diary, 15 Sept. 1721 and 3 July 1722. Not in residence with Johnson, but name appears in Oct. and Nov. 1728, and in Jany. to Mch. 1728/9. Adm. fellow 10 July 1719, in place of Everard Levitt, on Bennet of Ossulston foundation, and again on 6 Aug. 1726; succeeded by John Husbands 7 June 1728. Rector of Otham, Kent, from 1725, and of Brede from 1732, holding both till death in 1768. Mard. 7 Dec. 1727, at Otham, to Ann, dau. of Bowyer Hendley, of Gore Court, Otham. Their son George Horne [1730-92], Bishop of Norwich from 1790, and then President of Magdalen, entertained Johnson and Boswell to tea at Oxford on 20 Mch. 1776 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 445; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 323, 328; *Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 443-4; inf. of Rector of Brede).

**HORTON, JAMES**, son of Hugh H., of Ellesborough, Bucks., gent. Matric. 14 Oct. 1704, aged 14; B.A. 1708; M.A. 1712. Name on books throughout Johnson's time, but not in residence; removed after 11 June 1731. Vicar of Wooburn, Bucks., 29 Oct. 1715, till death there on 13 July 1752 (*Lipscomb's Bucks.*, III., 637; inf. of Vicar of Wooburn).

**HORTON, THOMAS**, son of Thomas H., of "Wooton" (? Wotton-under-Edge), co. Glouc., *arm.* Matric. 9 July 1728, aged 17. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson for nine weeks May-July 1729; name disappears in Apl. 1730. Paid £10 caution 12 June 1728; repaid 11 June 1730 to John Garney.

**HOWELL, ROBERT**, son of Robert H., of "Newtown," co. Pembroke, gent. Matric. 31 Oct. 1729, aged 18; B.A. 1733. Batteller, first appears 31 Oct. 1729, whence in residence with Johnson till Dec., when promoted to rank of commoner. Paid £4 caution 31 Oct. 1729, and extra £3 as commoner 18 Feb. 1729/30; total of £7 balanced exactly against his undischarged battels at convention of 26 Mch. 1740. Scribbled in buttery book 1730-31:—"How ells in love." There was a Robert Howell, of Crunwear, co. Pemb., gent., who in his will proved 1728 mentions his second son Robert (inf. of Mr. Francis Green). Foster calls him Howells, but College records Howell.

**HULBERT, THOMAS**, son of Thomas H., of Wootton Bassett, Wilts., gent.

Matric. 9 Mch. 1727/8, aged 17; B.A. 1731; M.A. 1734; B. Med. 1737; D. Med. 1741. Commoner, in regular residence with Johnson during term times. Paid £7 caution 9 Mch. 1727/8; £2-3-6 repaid 23 Nov. 1737 to James Treadwell ("cook"—see Foster's *Al. Ox.*). "Mr. Hulbert, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731.

**HUME, WILLIAM**, son of Rev. William H., of Milton Abbot, Devon. Matric. 14 Jany. 1716/17, aged 14; B.A. 1721; M.A. 1724. Accompanied Erasmus Philipps and others to Godstow on 3 July 1722. Scholar, not in residence with Johnson except perhaps for an odd week in May 1729; disappears after 6 Nov. 1730. "The Rev. William Hume, A.M. late of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731 (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 444).

**HUNT, ROWLAND**, third son of Thomas Hunt [1669-1753], of Boreatton, co. Salop (High Sheriff 1718), by Jane [d. 1716] his wife, dau. and eventual heir of Sir Edward Ward, of Stoke Doyle and Wadenhoe, co. Northants., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Born 29 Dec. 1707 at Baschurch, and bapt. there 17 Jany. 1707/8. Matric. 16 Nov. 1726, aged 18; B.A. June 1730; M.A. 1733; B. and D.D. 1756. Commoner, in residence throughout Johnson's time, except for Christmas vacation of 1728-9. "Hunt E Coll. Pemb." scribbled in buttery book 1728-29. Paid £7 caution 10 Nov. 1726; "discharged" 26 June 1736. "Rowland Hunt, A.B. of Pembroke-College, Oxon. 2 Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of Stoke Doyle, soon after taking degree, till death on 18 Sept. 1785. Mard. 1<sup>st</sup> Katherine Adams, sister of William Adams, who himself mard. Hunt's sister Sarah in 1742 (*ante*, p. 181). She died 23 Feb. 1760, without issue, at Stoke Doyle. He mard. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 21 Apl. 1761, Mary, dau. of Rev. Francis Wells, Vicar of Oundle, Northants., and left issue by her, who died 13 Oct. 1801, at Bath, aged 68. Her monument at Batheaston describes her husband as "upwards of 50 years Rector of Stoke Doyle." Their only dau., Mary Hunt [1764-1834], was preceptress, under the Countess of Elgin, to Princess Charlotte (inf. of Major T. Charles Hunt).

**HUSBANDS, JOHN**, son of Rev. Thomas H. [born 1677 at Windsor, son of James H.; ed. Christ Church School, Oxford; matric. Christ Church 2 Nov. 1693, aged 16; clerk of All Souls Coll.; B.A. 26 Feb. 1697/8; Chaplain of New Coll., M.A. July 1700; Minor Canon of Hereford, June 1701; Vicar of Holmer 1703, and of Canon Pyon, co. Hereford, 1708. Published in 1713 *The Great Sin*, etc.]. Born 29 Jany. 1705/6 at Marsh Baldon, Oxon.; bapt. there 12 Feb. 1705/6. Ed. at Mr. Rodd's school in Hereford. Matric. 28 July 1721; had an exhibition immediately and a scholarship soon after; B.A. 1725; M.A. 1728. Adm. fellow 7 June 1728, in place of Samuel Horne, on Bennet of Ossulston foundation; succeeded by Walter Chapman 15 Dec. 1732. Took deacon's orders 1728, and priest's later. In residence with Johnson till Mch. 1728/9, and for about a month in July-Aug. 1729. In residence again for large part of 1731. Commoner, paid £7 caution 18 Apl. 1723; repaid 7 Feb. 1733/4 to his mother "Eliz. Husbands." He died 21 Nov. 1732 "at the Hon. Mr. Northey's seat."

In 1731 he published *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands*, printed by Leonard Lichfield,\* near the East-Gate, Oxford, in which was included Johnson's translation of Pope's *Messiah* (see *ante*, p. 12). At his death "he was preparing for the Press a comparison of the Eastern and Western Poetry, which his friends had seen, and was much admired, as he was himself, for his Learning, Candour, and Ingenuity." Hearne comments that "he some time ago published a volume of Poems not much taken notice of, tho' he is allowed to have been an ingenious man" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1732, p. 1083; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXXII., 136; W. P. Courtney's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 1; *MS. Rawl.*, fol. 3, f. 333).†

**HYETT, BENJAMIN**, elder son of Charles H. [1675-1738], of Painswick House, co. Glouc., M.P. for city of Gloucester. Born 1709, in par. of St. Nicholas, Gloucester. Matric. 6 Nov. 1724, aged 15; created D.C.L. 17 Apl. 1761. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson ten weeks, Feb.-Apl. 1729, after which did not return. Paid £10 caution 4 Nov. 1724; repaid 28 Apl. 1729. "Benjamin Hyett, Esq.; 2 Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, 1731. Mard., but left no issue. Of Painswick House after 1738. Contested Gloucester city, 1742. Died 15 Dec. 1762 (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Hyett of Painswick"; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1762, p. 601).

**HYETT, NICHOLAS**, younger brother of preceding, and born in same par. Matric. 4 May 1725, aged 16. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson about six weeks in Nov. and Dec. 1728 and Mch. and Apl. 1729, after which did not return. Paid £10 caution 28 (? Apl.) 1725; repaid 28 Apl. 1729 to "Ben. Hyett." Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, 1731. Succeeded brother at Painswick in 1762. Constable of Gloucester Castle, 1765. Died 4 Mch. 1777.

\* In the list of printers to the University of Oxford we find John Lichfield in 1617 and 1624, Leonard Lichfield in 1635, and L. Lichfield and A. Lichfield in 1658 (Edward Arber's *Registers of Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.*, V., lix-lx). Leonard Litchfield, of St. Peter's in y<sup>e</sup> East, and Frances Barret, of St. Giles, Oxon., were mard. 3 Mch. 1700 at Christ Church, Oxford (*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, Series II., vol. 2, p. 237). "Mr. Lichfield, Printer in Oxon" (indexed as Leonard) occurs in May 1705 (Edward Arber's *Term Catalogues*, III., 460).

† Rupert Simms, in his *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*, 1894, pp. 240-41, following Harwood's *Lichfield*, 1806, p. 218, confuses John Husbands, Fellow of Pembroke, with John Husband, curate-in-charge of Hints, near Lichfield, from 1681 to 1721 (*Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Hints," introduc.), and again with John Husband, Prebendary of Lichfield 1716-26, apparently rolling three separate men into one. The last named, son of John Husband and born at Lichfield, was ed. at Lichfield School under Robert Shaw (see *ante*, III., 110-11), entering Christ's Coll., Camb., in 1702; B.A. 1705/6; M.A. 1709. Minor Canon of St. Paul's, 1706-38; died 6 Feb. 1737/8 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). "Mr. John Husbands, Sacrist," was burd. at Lichfield Cathedral on 17 Jany. 1725/6 (Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 299). Shaw, too, speaks confusingly of the Prebendary as "John Husband, A.M. 1723, then also curate of St. Chadd's, alias Stow Church in Lichfield, and of Hints, being likewise sacrist of this Cathedral" (*Staffs.*, I., 291).



He and his brother presented alms dish to Pembroke Coll. His only child Benjamin Hyett [1743-1810], mard. as his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, on 10 July 1788, Sarah, only dau. and heir of William Adams, Master of Pembroke (see *ante*, p. 181), but died without issue. Macleanne confuses the two Benjamins (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Pyett of Painswick"; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1777, p. 147; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 367).

**JOHNSON, SAMUEL**, matric. 16 Dec. 1728, aged 19, as son of Michael J., of Lichfield, Staffs., gent. For his record in College, see *ante*, Appendix H., p. 158.

**JONES, PHILIP**. See *ante*, Appendix C., pp. 129-35.

**JORDEN, WILLIAM**. See *ante*, Appendix B., pp. 123-9.

**KEYNTON, SAMUEL**, son of Rev. Thomas K. [1674?-1728], M.A. Christ's Coll., Camb., Rector of Bugbrooke, Northants., 1705-28, and Catherine his wife, dau. of Rev. John Whitfield, Rector of Bugbrooke. Born at Bugbrooke. Matric. 2 Mch. 1727/8, aged 17; B.A. 1732. Commoner, in residence with Johnson, except for two vacations. Paid £7 caution 2 Mch. 1727/8; repaid 17 Oct. 1735. His name occurs in the scribbings in each of the four buttery books examined, and in 1729-30 we read "Samuel Keynton is a dunce" (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

**KEYTE, JOHN**, son of Thomas K., of Broadway, co. Worc., gent. Matric. 31 Mch. 1721, aged 15; B.A. 1724; M.A. 1727. Scholar, in residence with Johnson down to 11 Apl. 1729; name removed after 4 Sept. 1730. Among Husbands's subscribers of 1731 we find:—"Mrs. Keyte—Miss Keyte—The Rev. John Keyte, A.M. of Pemb. Col. Oxon."

**KIRTLAND, GEORGE**, son of Edward K., of West Haddon, Northants., *pleb*. Matric. 29 Mch. 1729, aged 19; B.A. 6 Feb. 1732/3. Batteller, first appears 28 Mch. 1729; in residence with Johnson from end of April except for summer vacation. Paid £4 caution 29 Apl. 1729; £1 repaid 20 Dec. 1729; balance of £3 balanced exactly against undischarged battels at convention of 26 Mch. 1740. Scribbled in buttery book 1730-31, "Mis Betty Kirtland in love with himself."

**LANGHAM, STEPHEN**, fourth son of Sir John L. [1672-1747], 4<sup>th</sup> bart. of Cottesbrooke, by Elizabeth [1674-1715] his wife, eldest dau. of Sir Thomas Samwell, 1<sup>st</sup> bart. of Upton and Gayton, Northants. Bapt. 24 Sept. 1700 at Gayton. Matric. 23 Mch. 1726/7, aged '20'; B.C.L. 1733. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson except for vacations. Paid £10 caution 23 Mch. 1726/7, which was put in Gentleman Commoners' Bag. "Mr. Stephen Langham, Gentleman Commoner, of Pembroke-College. 3 Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Rector of Cottesbrooke from 1732 to death on 28 Feb. 1755, aged 54; burd. at Cottesbrooke. Mard. 24 July 1739, at Upton, Mary [1715-47], his first cousin, dau. of Sir Thomas Samwell [1687-1757], 2<sup>nd</sup> bart.,



and had issue (*Victoria County History*, "Northamptonshire Families," 1906, p. 219; *Burke's Extinct Baronetcies*, "Samwell").

**LAURENCE, RICHARD**, son of Rev. Jonathan L., Vicar of Wrockwardine, Salop, 1689-1728. Bapt. there 27 Oct. 1708. Matric. 16 May 1727, aged 18; B.A. 21 Jany. 1730/1. Batteller, in residence with Johnson down to June 1729; came back in Feb. 1729/30. Paid £4 caution 18 May 1727; £1 repaid 7 Feb. 1727/8, and £3 on 28 May 1731. M.A. from Queen's Coll., Camb., 1739. Perhaps Richard Lawrence, M.A., Vicar of Bredgar, Kent, 1745-72, and of Lenham, Kent, 1763-72 (burd. there 7 Aug. 1772) (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1772, pp. 390, 495; inf. of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, and of Vicar of Lenham).

**LE MARCHANT, JAMES**, son of William le M. [1681-1758], of St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Jurat, and of Elizabeth his wife (died 14 Feb. 1713/14), dau. of Jean Carey, Jurat. Born 29 Jany. 1713/14. Matric. 6 May 1729, aged 15; B.A. from Jesus Coll. 19 Jany. 1732/3; M.A. 1735; B.D. 1744; proctor 1743. Scholar, first appears 2 May 1729, but only in residence for eight weeks of Johnson's last term. Paid £7 caution 31 Oct. 1729; repaid 22 Mch. 1730/1. "Mr. James Le Merchant, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon. 3 Copies," among Husbands' subscribers of 1731. "James Le Marchant, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, & Rector of Roschilly, Com. Glamorgan," was inducted into rectory of Longworth, Berks., 4 June 1753, where he died unmarried. on 25 and was burd. on 27 July 1761. He burd. his predecessor at Longworth on 5 Mch. 1752/3 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1761, p. 382; inf. of Miss Edith F. Carey, and of Rector of Longworth).

**LE MARCHANT, WILLIAM**, son of William le M. [1658-1725], S<sup>r</sup> of Saumarez Câtel, Guernsey, Jurat and Col. of Militia, by Elizabeth [d. 1705] his 1<sup>st</sup> wife, dau. of Cæsar Knapton, of co. Hants. Third cousin to father of preceding. Bapt. 10 Apl. 1694. Matric. 3 Apl. 1712, aged 18, from Queen's Coll., Oxford; B.A. from Pembroke 1715; M.A. 1718. Adm. fellow 14 Mch. 1717/18 in place of Francis Le Couteur; succeeded by Philip Le Hardy 4 Feb. 1743. Barr.-at-law, Inner Temple, 1720. On 14 Apl. 1721 Philipps mentions him as almost coming to blows with the Vicegerent; on 20 July 1721 as among counsel at the bar, Nisi Prius Court; and on 26 Aug. 1721 as riding with the diarist. "William Le Merchant, Esq.; Fellow of Pembroke College. 9 Copies," among Husbands' subscribers of 1731. In residence with Johnson about 20 weeks, rather irregularly; mostly between July and Oct. 1729. Mard. 1<sup>st</sup> Anne Mary Cooper; and 2<sup>nd</sup> on 30 Sept. 1752, Anna Maria Bagnall. Died 12 July 1784 at Bath (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 366, 443; inf. of Miss Edith F. Carey; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1752, p. 478).

**LEMPRIERE, CHARLES**, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Rev. John L., Rector of Grouville, Jersey, 1693-1733, by Rachel his wife, dau. of Charles Le Hardy, Mayor of Grouville. Born 1707/8. Matric. 29 Oct. 1725, aged 17; B.A. 6 Feb. 1729/30. Scholar,

in regular residence with Johnson from Mch. to end of 1729. Entered as commoner only; paid £7 caution 4 Mch. 1725/6; repaid 23 Apl. 1734 to John Garney. "Charles Lemriere, A.B. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Held no office in Jersey (inf. of Madame Messervy).

**LEMPRIERE, GEORGE**, 3<sup>rd</sup> son of Capt. James L., Mayor of St. Helier, Jersey, 1719, and of Anne Durell his wife. Matric. 4 Apl. 1720, aged 19; B.A. 24 Mch. 1723/4; M.A. May 1729. Scholar, not in residence with Johnson, though name still appears down to Oct. 1731. "The Rev. George Lempriere, A.M. of Pembroke College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Held no office in Jersey (inf. of Madame Messervy).

**LOCKTON, JOHN**, son of J. L., of Ginge, nr. Wantage, Berks., gent. Matric. 2 Dec. 1706, aged 16; B.A. 1710; M.A. 1713. Adm. fellow 4 July 1710 on Tesdale foundation; succeeded 1 June 1744 by Philip Hawkins. Caution book shows him as bursar in 1723-4, 1726-7, and in 1729-30. Probably Vicegerent 1727-8 and 1731-2 (see *ante*, Appendix B., p. 128). In continuous residence with Johnson, except for a few weeks in Dec. and Jany. 1728/9 and Sept. 1729. Probably Rev. John L., of West Ilsley, Berks., whose son John, born *circa* 1735, was afterwards of Pembroke. Vicar of Combe, Hants., from 1736 to death on 12 Aug. 1754, aged 66. Burd. in nave there, with his wife Catherine, who died 8 Dec. 1764, aged 69 (inf. of Rector of Buttermere with Combe).

**MALLET, WILLIAM**, son of William M., of Meavy, Devon, gent. Matric. 7 July 1721, aged 15. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson for two weeks in Dec. 1728; omitted after 7 Mch. 1728/9. Paid caution 27 Oct. 1724, repaid £10 on 21 Dec. 1728.

**MARTIN, JOHN**, son of Robert M., of Pebworth, co. Glouc., gent, who died 1 Oct. 1720, aged 51. His elder brother, Robert M. (bapt. 1698), High Sheriff of co. Glouc. 1732. Matric. 26 Mch. 1729, aged 19; B.A. 1732; M.A. 1735. First appears 21 Mch. 1728/9; in continuous residence with Johnson Apl. to Nov. 1729. Commoner, paid £7 on 25 Mch. 1729; repaid 17 July 1735. Instituted to Rectory of Clifford Chambers, co. Glouc., 30 July 1735; patron, Francis Keyte Dighton. Stephen Nason, his successor, presented Sept. 1776 (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, under "Pebworth," pp. 317-18, and "Clifford Chambers," p. 385; inf. of Mr. Roland Austin).

**MEARES, WILLIAM HAWKSWELL**, son of William M., of Eastington, par. of Rhoscrowther, co. Pemb., by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Griffith Hawkwell, of par. of Llawhaden, co. Pemb., and grandson of George M., of Eastington. Matric. 26 Apl. 1726, aged 18. Gentleman commoner, not in residence with Johnson, and name finally disappears at end of May 1730. Paid £10 caution 29 Apl. 1726, which was balanced exactly against his undischarged battels at convention of 26 Mch. 1730. Scribbled in butterfly book 1730-31; "Lutatio Catulo Consule, Nunc Meares." Admon. of W.H.M., of par. of Rhoscrowther,

Esq., granted 27 Feb. 1768 to widow Mary, by whom he had issue (Allen's *Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*, p. 40 ; inf. of Mr. Francis Green).

**MEEKE, JOHN.** See *ante*, Appendix E., pp. 139-42.

**MOSELEY, JOHN**, son of Rev. William M. [b. *circa* 1677], M.A., also of Pembroke, who was Vicar of Sandhurst, 1702, Rector of Almondbury 1708, and of Hasfield 1727-53, all in co. Glouc., who mard. a dau. of the Rev. John Price [1653 ?-1727], Rector of Hasfield. Matric. 26 Mch. 1729 (same day as John Martin, above, also from co. Glouc.), aged 18 ; B.A. 1732 ; M.A. 1735. Scholar, first appears 21 Mch. 1728/9, after which in unbroken residence with Johnson. Paid £7 caution 25 Mch. 1729 ; repaid 22 July 1735 to John Meeke. He had not yet acquired clerical self-restraint in 1730-31, when he scribbled in the buttery book :—" James Pinnock\* the son of an old blackmore bitch, born under a hedge, begat in a pigsty, & bred up in a charity school in London. Witness my hand, John Mosely." " Mr. Mosely, of Pembroke College, Oxon.," among *Husbands's* subscribers of 1731. Licensed to curacy of Hasfield, 21 May 1733. Instituted to vicarage of Beckford with Ashton under Hill, 20 Feb. 1755, and to vicarage of Painswick, also in co. Glouc., 25 May 1762. The living of Painswick was in the gift of the parishioners, over 5000 of whom had votes, and " when Mr. Moseley was elected by vote, the contest ran so high that it was near ten years before the vicar was established in the living. The bishop found himself under the necessity of appointing curates during that period." He held Painswick till his death there on 13 (or 30) Oct. 1794, aged 84. He was burd. in the churchyard, with his wife and dau., and a tablet in the chancel tells us that he was " distinguished as the Christian ! the Scholar !! & the Gentleman !!! " By his wife Elizabeth (died 23 Nov. 1779), dau. of Richard Cossley, Esq., of Chaxhill, Westbury-upon-Severn, he had an only son John, Lieut. and Aide-de-Camp, who died young in 1769, when stationed with his regiment in Bengal, and a dau. Elizabeth, who mard. Stephen Page, Esq., at Painswick, on 11 Nov. 1776 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1794, p. 966 ; *European Mag.*, 1794, pt. 2, p. 381 ; Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 89, 146, II., 41, 42 ; *Glouc. Notes and Queries*, I., 181 ; inf. of Roland Austin, and of Vicar of Painswick).

**MOY, EDWARD**, son of Edward M., of Trinity par., Coventry, *pleb.* Matric. 23 June 1726, aged 18, from Magdalen Hall ; B.A. from Pembroke May 1730. Servitor, in regular residence throughout Johnson's time to 7 Nov. 1729, without missing a week ; omitted after 1 May 1731. Paid £3 caution 1 Jany. 1728/9 ; repaid 23 Apl. 1731. Name scribbled three times in buttery book 1728-29, once as " Edwardus Moy is a Fool by my soul."

**NICCOLLS, EDWARD**, son of Edward N., of St. Michael's, city of Glouc. (Sheriff 1707), *pleb.* Matric. 6 Nov. 1724, aged 20 ; B.A. 1728. Apparently in

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\* Matric. 10 Oct. 1730, from Pemb. Coll., aged 18, as son of James Pinnock of Isle of Jamaica, *gent.* ; died 20 June 1736 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).



residence with Johnson for a week or so in Feb. 1728/9; omitted after 9 May 1729. Servitor, paid £3 caution 4 Nov. 1724; repaid 28 Feb. 1728/9. "Pretty Molly Niccoll" occurs among buttery book scribbings 1728/29. Ord. deacon (Glouc.) 22 Sept. 1728, and priest 1 June 1729. Rector of St. Mary de Crypt, Glouc., 1733 to death. M.A. from King's Coll., Camb., 1734. Adm. curate of Matson, co. Glouc., 19 Aug. 1735; Rector there from 1747 to death in 1763. Curate of St. Owen, Glouc., 1737. Chaplain to Earl of Peterborough (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke's *City of Gloucester*, 1819, pp. 163, 210; Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, under "Matson," p. 202; inf. of Roland Austin).

**OVERMAN, GEORGE**, son of William O., of Lambeth, co. Surrey, *arm.* (perhaps "Wm. Overman, of Streatham, Surrey, Esq.", who died Feb. 1749). Matric. 10 Apl. 1728, aged 18. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson except for winter vacation of 1728/9, and part of summer vacation of 1729; still in residence in Oct. 1731. Paid £10 caution 10 Apl. 1728; repaid 21 Dec. 1733. "Mr. Overman, Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Barr.-at-law, Lincoln's Inn, 1737. Died 10 Apl. 1739. Presented to College a great silver tankard, known as the "Overman," which would hold half-a-gallon (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1739, p. 216, 1749, p. 92; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 484).

**PACKWOOD, JOSIAS**, son of Jos. P., of Oldbury, co. Worc., *pleb.* Matric. 18 Feb. 1726/7, aged 19. Servitor, in regular residence with Johnson to June 1729, except for two weeks at Christmas, returned for three weeks in Feb.-Mch. 1729/30, and then disappears. Paid £3 caution 14 Feb. 1726/7; repaid 17 Mch. 1729/30.

**PARDOE, THOMAS**, younger son of Thomas P., of Criddon, par. of Chetton, co. Salop, gent., by Sarah his wife, dau. of William Browne, of Sawbatch and Forton. Bapt. 14 Mch. 1705/6 at Chetton. Matric. 14 Jany. 1724/5, aged 18; B.A. 1728. Paid £4 caution as batteller 14 Jany. 1724/5, and another £3 to become commoner 21 Feb. 1726/7; £7 repaid 28 Feb. 1728/9. Not in residence with Johnson except for two weeks in Feb. 1728/9; disappears June 1729. "Mr. Pardoe, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Made Lecturer of Newington Butts, *circa* Apl. 1736. M.A. from St. John's Coll., Camb., 1737. Lived at Newington Butts, and after at Lewes. Mard. Anne (dead 27 Dec. 1775), widow of John Langford, but left no issue. Will, as of Thomas Pardoe, of Lewes, co. Sussex, clerk, dated 27 Dec. 1775, was proved 19 Aug. 1778 in P.C.C. [Hay 331] (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1736, p. 233; inf. of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher).

**PARKES, ROBERT**, son of Robert P., of Chilton Folliatt, Wilts., *pleb.* Matric. 21 Mch. 1722/3, aged 18; B.A. 1726; M.A. July 1731. In residence with Johnson about ten weeks, mostly Apl. to Aug. 1729. "The Rev. Rob. Parkes, A.M. of Pemb. Col. Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Adm. fellow



9 June 1738 in place of Tipping Silvester, on Bennet of Ossulston foundation ; succeeded by Samuel Seyer 14 Nov. 1743. Died Nov. 1743 at Pembroke Coll. Will of Robert Parkes, of Pemb. Coll., Oxford, dated 2 July 1726, mentions his uncle John Parkes, of Lambourn, Berks., and his mother, Margaret Parkes, of Wantage, Berks. ; codicil dated 12 May 1743 (" I, Robert Parkes, Master of Arts, of Pembroke College, Oxford "), leaves £100 to Jane Silverthorpe, of Andover, Hants., widow (" John Ratcliffe," a wit.) ; proved 25 Nov. 1743, in P.C.C. [Boycott 343], by Margaret Parkes, widow, the mother (*London Mag.*, 1743, p. 569).

**PARSONS, JOHN**, son of Henry P., of Sedgeberrow, co. Worc., gent. Matric. 13 Apl. 1725, aged 17, with Richard, son of Rev. Anthony Johnson, of Sedgeberrow (see *ante*, III., 172) ; B.A. 1728 ; M.A. 1731. Scholar, in residence with Samuel Johnson for about 23 weeks down to May 1729, and about five or six weeks in Oct.-Dec. 1729. Paid £7 caution 25 Mch. 1725 ; repaid 12 July 1732. " The Rev. Mr. Parsons, of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. The will of John Parsons, of Naunton, co. Glouc., clerk, dated 9 Apl. 1773, and proved 18 Aug. 1773 in P.C.C. [Stevens 339], mentions his estate at Sedgeberrow, also his brother Henry P., also his eldest son (Rev.) John P. and younger son William P. John, son of Rev. John P., of Naunton, co. Glouc., matric. 29 Oct. 1762, aged 18, at Queen's Coll. Oxf. ; B.A. 1766. John Parsons, sen., not known to present Rector of Naunton.

**PAYNE, RICHARD**, son of Rev. Richard P., M.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf., Rector of Matson 1695, and of Barnsley 1696, both co. Glouc. Born at Barnsley ; matric. 12 June 1729, aged 17. Commoner, first appears 6 June 1729 ; in residence with Johnson thenceforward, except for summer vacation ; still in residence Oct. 1731. Paid £7 caution 10 June 1729 ; 12<sup>s</sup>/- balance returned 2 May 1734. " Mr. Richard Paine," one of Husbands's subscribers of 1731.

**PEACHY, ERLYSMAN**, son of John P., of Alverstoke, Hants., gent. Matric. 23 Oct. 1723, aged 17 ; B.A. 1727 ; M.A. 1730. Not in residence with Johnson, and name removed June 1729. Commoner, paid £7 caution 2 July 1724 ; repaid 11 June 1729. " The Rev. William [*sic*] Peachy, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," one of Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Instituted Vicar of Kingsclere, Hants., 30 June 1752, on presentation of Duke of Bolton, and on 12 May 1753 Rector of Faccombe, Hants., which he held jointly with Kingsclere till his death in 1769 ; not burd. at Kingsclere. Manor of Fawley, Hants., conveyed 1705 to Edward Peachey, and a family settlement thereof made 1765 by William and Erlysmen Peachy (*Victoria County History*, " Hampshire," III., 293 ; inf. of Vicar of Kingsclere).

**PHILIPPS, ERASMUS [SIR]**, eldest son of Sir John P. [died 1736], 4<sup>th</sup> bart. of Picton Castle, co. Pembroke, M.P. for Pembroke 1695-1702 and for Haverfordwest 1718-22. Born in par. of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Matric. 4 Aug. 1720, aged 20. Gentleman commoner, name still on books throughout Johnson's

time but not in residence. His diary while at Pembroke, from 1 Aug. 1720 to 1 Oct. 1722, was printed in *Notes and Queries* for 1860. Succeeded as 5<sup>th</sup> bart. 1736. F.R.S. 1727; M.P. for Haverfordwest 1726 to death; Sheriff of Carmarthen 1727; member of Common Council for Haverfordwest 1737. Wrote on economics, and was generous patron of fine arts. Died 15 Oct. 1743, "drown'd by a Fall from his Horse in the Avon near Bath," unmard. Admon. granted 28 Feb. 1743/4 to brother, Sir John P., in P.C.C. Anna Williams wrote lines, "On the Death of Sir Erasmus Philipps, Unfortunately drowned in the River Avon, near Bath, October 15, 1743." His aunt Elizabeth Philipps mard. John Shorter and was grandmother of Horace Walpole. On 2 Oct. 1773 Johnson discoursed to his Scottish hosts at Armidale on "the way in the great families in Wales" of receiving gentlemen's daughters into their houses to learn domestic economy. "There were always six young ladies at Sir John Philips's: when one was married, her place was filled up. There was a large school-room, where they learnt needle-work and other things." No doubt his information came from Anna Williams, a native of Rhosmarket, some half-dozen miles from Picton, who may herself have had this training. We know that Lady Philipps made her a small allowance, and is said to have been related to her (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1743, p. 554; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 323-9; *Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 365-6, 443-5; *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, by Anna Williams, 1766, pp. 44-5; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 275-6; Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 74; Burke's *Peerage*).

**PHILIPPS, JOHN [SIR]**, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Sir John, and brother of preceding. Born at Shebech, adjoining Picton Castle. Also matric. 4 Aug. 1720, aged 19. Gentleman commoner, name still on books through Johnson's time, but not in residence. Mayor of Haverfordwest 1736. Succeeded his brother as 6<sup>th</sup> bart. in 1743. Counsellor at law, created D.C.L. Oxon. 12 Apl. 1749. M.P. for Carmarthen 1741-7, Petersfield 1754-61, and co. Pembroke 1761-4. Lord Commissioner of Board of Trade and Plantations 1744-5; Custos Rotulorum, Haverfordwest 1761-4; Privy Councillor. Died 23 June 1764, having mard. and had issue. In 1749 founded one fellowship and one scholarship at Pembroke College. A letter from George Hardinge, in 1772, mentions "my Lord Chatham's grave panegyrick upon the enlightened soul of Sir John Philips"—identified as this 6<sup>th</sup> bart. (Burke's *Peerage*; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 301; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, III., 181-2).

**POTTER, FRANCIS**, son of Christopher P., of Toot Baldon, Oxon., gent. Matric. 17 Dec. 1729, aged 19; B.A. from New Coll. 1733; M.A. 1736. Commoner, first appears on 12 Dec. 1729, but did not come into residence till 23 Jan. 1729/30, after Johnson had left; in residence till Aug. 1731 and name still retained in Oct. 1731. Paid £7 caution 17 Dec. 1729; repaid 3 Nov. 1732. Prebendary of Bath and Wells 1749, Archdeacon of Taunton 1748, and of Wells 1760, till death on 1 Oct. 1767 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1767, p. 524).

**PRICE, RICHARD**, son of John P., of Meifod, co. Montgomery, gent. Matric.

15 Mch. 1724/5, aged 19; B.A. 1728. Batteller, in residence with Johnson two weeks in Feb. 1728/9; omitted after 18 Apl. 1729. Paid £4 caution 12 Mch. 1724/5; £1 repaid 22 Mch. 1726/7 and £3 on 24 Feb. 1728/9.

**RATCLIFF, JOHN**, son of Rev. Robert R. The father, son of Richard "Radcliff," of Broad Clyst, Devon, *pleb.*, matric. 10 Apl. 1674, aged 17; B.A. 1677; fellow 1679-92; M.A. 1680; B.D. 1691; Chaplain to Forces of Charles II. and James II. in America for 10 years; Episcopal Minister of Boston in New England; Chaplain to Their Majesties' Household; Vicar of Stonehouse, co. Glouc., 18 years, and Rector of Colne Rogers 10 years, till death on 7 Jany. 1707, aged 53; mard. Mary (died 24 Dec. 1721, aged 58), dau. of Thomas Gosling [1638?-1708], of Gloucester, gent. The Rev. Robert R. was burd. at Stonehouse, where is a monument to his memory; his wife and her relatives at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester. John R., born at Stonehouse, ed. at Abingdon School. Matric. 17 Nov. 1718, aged 18; B.A. 1722; M.A. 1725; B.D. 1737; D.D. 1739. Adm. fellow 25 June 1724 in place of John Moulden, S.T.P., on Tesdale foundation; succeeded 5 Mch. 1738 by William Crawley. The caution book shows him as bursar in 1728-9. In regular residence with Johnson, except for two weeks in May 1729 and three weeks in Sept. 1729. "The Rev. John Ratcliff, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Master of Pembroke from 23 Feb. 1738 to his death on 13 July 1775, aged 76. Burd. at St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, as the inscription at Stonehouse tells us. Last surviving descendant of his parents. A generous benefactor to Pemb. Coll. Will dated 19 Jany. 1773, with codicils of 29 Jany., 13 Apl., 17 Apl. 1773, and 15 June, 22 Aug. and 26 Aug. 1774, proved 18 Aug. 1775 in P.C.C. [Alexander 323]. Mentions Sarah, widow of his late brother Thomas Ratcliff, Esq. [died 12 Jany. 1763, aged 64], and various relatives in Devonshire. Leaves picture of his uncle, Thomas Gosling, Esq. [died 12 Feb. 1727, aged 62], decd., his library, and some property, to Daniel Lysons [1727-1800]. And see *ante*, p. 43. His sister Elizabeth (died 19 Oct. 1754, aged 48) had married Rev. Walter Hodges [1695-1757], M.A., D.D., Provost of Oriel 1727-57, and Vice-Chancellor of University 1741-4, who was burd. with his wife at Shipton Magna, co. Glouc., and commemorated by a monument there ("last male heir of his family"). When Johnson revisited Pembroke in 1754, "he waited on the master, Dr. Radcliffe, who received him very coldly," much to his expressed disgust. Maclean explains that Ratcliff "was a great invalid," and defends his memory. Perhaps Ratcliff, who as bursar received Johnson's caution money in 1728 (see *ante*, p. 5) remembered that he had left without settling his account! (Ralph Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, under "Stonehouse"; T. D. Fosbrooke's *City of Gloucester*, 1819, p. 166; Samuel Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, 1779, p. 655; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 200, 302-3, 342; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 271-2; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1775, p. 351).

**RAYMOND, JONATHAN**, youngest son of Sir Jemmett R. [1663?-1754], of Oxford, and of Barton Court, co. Berks., Knt., who had matric. from St. Edmund Hall in 1681, and grandson of Sir Jonathan R., Knt. [d. 1711]. Born in par. of



St. Peter's, Oxford. Matric. 17 Dec. 1723, aged 15. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson about twelve weeks, principally in May, June and Oct. 1729; name still appears in Oct. 1731, though hardly in residence at all since 1729. Died Aug. 1736. Among Husbands's subscribers of 1731 are "Sir Jemett Raymond, Lady Raymond, Jonathan Raymond, Esq." (*Hist. Reg. Chron.*, 1736, p. 49; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1754, p. 579; Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 615).

**SALWEY, THOMAS**, eldest surviving son of Rev. John S. [b. *circa* 1677], also of Pembroke, Rector of Richards Castle, co. Hereford, 1702-38, by Alice his wife, fourth dau. and co-heir of Dr. Augustine Cæsar. Matric. 6 May 1729, aged 17; B.A. 1 Feb. 1732/3; M.A. 1735; B.C.L. 1738; D.C.L. 1742. Commoner, first appears 2 May 1729; in regular residence with Johnson till Nov. 1729. Paid £7 caution 5 May. 1729; repaid 31 May 1742. "Mr. Salway, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. On his father resigning Richards Castle, he was adm. Rector on 12 Dec. 1738, on presentation of Richard Salwey, Esq. Mard. 1742 Constance, only dau. of Francis Biddulph, of Ledbury, and had issue bapt. at Ludlow from 1745. Died 23 Oct. 1759, at Bath. Richard Gifford [1725-1807], on taking orders, was "appointed, by his friend Dr. Salway, curate of Richard's-castle in Herefordshire": he was "one Giffard, a parson," whose poem *Contemplation*, 1753, was quoted by Johnson in the *Dictionary*, and to Boswell, at Nairn, on 27 Aug. 1773 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1759, p. 497; *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Salwey of Moor Park"; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, V., 183; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 118; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Richard Gifford; inf. of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher).

**SANDWELL, JOHN**, son of Hartley S., of Radclive, Bucks., gent. Matric. 21 Nov. 1729, aged 19; B.A. 1733; M.A. 1736. Commoner, first appears 7 Nov. 1729; in residence till Johnson left. Paid £7 caution 25 Nov. 1729; repaid 24 July 1736. His name scribbled several times in the buttery books, once as "honest Sandwell."

**SEALE, JOHN**, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Thomas S., of Jersey, gent., and Elizabeth Pipon his wife. Born 1706 at St. Brelade. His elder brother Thomas, b. 1702, died young. Matric. 3 Dec. 1724, aged 18. Gentleman commoner, paid £10 caution 27 Nov. 1724; no record of repayment. Name on books during Johnson's time, and down to Oct. 1731, but not in residence. "John Seale, Esq.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Of Mount Boone, Dartmouth, Devon; died 7 Sept. 1777. Married three times; grandfather of Sir John Henry Seale [1785-1844], 1<sup>st</sup> bart. His father's first cousin, Thomas Seale [1690-1771], Rector of St. Clement, Jersey, who had migrated from Pembroke to Exeter Coll., was uncle to Peter Daniel Tapin (see *post*, p. 208) (*Burke's Peerage*; inf. of Madame Messervy).

**SHEINTON, WILLIAM**, son of Richard S., of Farmcott, par. of Claverley, co. Salop, *pleb.*, and Elizabeth his wife. Bapt. 1 Jany. 1709/10 at Claverley. Matric. 2 Mch. 1727/8, aged 18; B.A. 4 Feb. 1731/2. Batteller, in regular residence with



Johnson, except for winter vacation of 1728/9, and a few odd weeks. Paid £4 caution 13 Apl. 1727; £1 repaid to him 18 Nov. (no year), and £3 to John Hopkins (see *ante*, p. 42) 16 Apl. (no year). In the buttry books for 1728-29 is scribbled, "Sheinton was admitted Serv<sup>tr</sup> [?] on Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> of July 1728"; and in the 1729-30 book, "Ubi Sheinton ibi William, et ubi William ibi Sheinton maj<sup>r</sup> ista posterior pars minoris sidetur Min<sup>r</sup> vel Maj<sup>r</sup>." "Mr. Sheinton, of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731 (inf. of Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher).

**SHERWIN, PETER**, son of Peter S., of Oxford, *pleb.*, and grandson of William S., the Yeoman Beadle of Divinity. William S. was dead on 15 Oct. 1725, as was also his son Peter, whose widow, dau. of "old Mrs. Langford, of St. Gyles's, Oxon." (burd. 14 Oct. 1725 at St. Giles's), was then a milliner in Oxford. "Peter Sherwin left her six Children, begotten by him of her body," crudely notes Hearne. "She is a pretty civil body, a good manager, & was beautifull, but he was a sorry, drunken sot." Born in All Saints par., Oxford. Matric. 22 Apl. 1726, aged 17; B.A. 20 Jany. 1729/30. Entered as *commoner*, but in regular residence with Johnson, as a *scholar*, except for one week in Nov. 1729 (and see *ante*, Appendix H., p. 159). Paid £7 caution 18 Aug. 1726; repaid 2 Dec. 1732. Scribbled in buttry book in 1729-30 is "Honest Peter Sherwin," and in 1730-31, "Sherwin Moderator." "Peter Sherwin, A.B. Scholar of Pembroke-College, Ox.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. M.A. from Corpus Christi Coll., 1732. Chaplain of Magdalen Coll., 1744-51 (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXV., 43; Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 44).

**SILVESTER, TIPPING**, son of John S., citizen and draper of London, and of Grace his wife, dau. of William Tipping, Esq., of Draycott, par. of Ickford, Oxon. Born in par. of St. Mary Woolnoth, London. Ed. Guilsborough Free School, Northants. Commoner, adm. 13 June 1717, matric. 13 July 1717, aged 16; B.A. 17 Apl. 1721; M.A. 29 Jany. 1723/4. Adm. fellow 1 Mch. 1724/5 for seven years, on Bennet of Ossulston foundation, in place of Thomas Tristram; re-elected 2 Mch. 1731/2 for another seven years; succeeded by Robert Parkes 9 June 1738. Erasmus Philipps went fishing on 4 July 1721 with "Mr. Sylvester," who accompanied him also to Godstow on 3 July 1722. Ord. deacon 30 May 1725 by Bishop of Oxford, who ord. him priest 5 June 1726. In regular residence with Johnson, except for single weeks in Jany. 1728/9 and Sept. 1729. Vicegerent Oct. 1730 to Oct. 1731 (see *ante*, Appendix B., p. 128). "The Rev. Tipping Silvester, A.M. Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Hearne tells us on 9 June 1732:—"One Mr. Tipping Sylvester, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxon., hath just printed and published a sermon preached at Cairfax before the mayor &c., of Oxford last 29 of May. It is a Whiggish thing, in commendation of the present Government. The Mayor, Alderman Nicholl &c. desired him to print it. He is one of the Whitehall Preachers and wants Preferment." Maclean tells us that he preached a sermon on 29 May 1732 before the Corporation of London. Elected Lecturer of St. Bartholomew's the Great, London, 16 Oct. 1734. Presented to Vicarage of Shabbington, Bucks.,

by Prudence Tipping, who had presented his predecessor, her son George Tipping, in 1728; instituted 11 Mch. 1736/7, inducted 21 Mch. 1736/7, and held living until his death on 29 Aug. 1768, aged 67. Stone tablet to his memory on east face of chancel arch at Shabbington. Akin to Bartholomew Tipping, whose benefaction of £210 to Pembroke enabled the College to build its own Chapel in 1728. While at Shabbington reduced value of living for his successors by assigning £41-0-6 per annum to a free school at Stokenchurch; but built new vicarage. Rawlinson enumerates sermons published by him in 1732 (two), 1734, and 1736 (*Notes and Queries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, X., 366, 444; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 362, LXXII., 68; Lipscomb's *Bucks.*, I., 451, 453; inf. of Vicar of Shabbington; *Rawl. MS. J. fol. 5, ff. 25-28, J., 4<sup>o</sup> 4, f. 177*).

**SKIPP, GEORGE**, son of John S., of Ledbury, co. Hereford, High Sheriff of Warwick., 11 Geo. I., who mard. (17 Sept. 1702 at Tamworth) Jane, dau. of Thomas Willington and of Mary his wife (mard. 16 Mch. 1670 at Weeford), dau. of John Swynfen, M.P. for Tamworth (see *ante*, Samuel Baker, and *post*, Samuel Swynfen). Matric. 21 Feb. 1727/8, aged 17; B.A. Oct. 1731; M.A. 1734. Commoner, in residence with Johnson, except for winter vacation of 1728/9 and a few weeks in Aug.-Sept.-Oct. 1729. Paid £7 caution 1 July 1728, which was balanced exactly against his undischarged battels at the convention of 26 Mch. 1740. "Mr. Skip Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon." among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Died 1735. His elder brother, John Skipp, died about Mch. 1796, aged 89, leaving issue (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Willington of Hurley"; Shaw's *Staffs.*, II., \*29).

**SKYNNER, WILLIAM**, son of John S., of Ledbury, co. Hereford, gent. Born 1708. Matric. 27 Mch. 1727, aged 19. Commoner, in residence for a week or two after Johnson's entry, and for some sixteen weeks Feb. to June 1729; again for nine weeks May-July 1730, but disappears in August. Paid £7 caution 27 Mch. 1727; repaid 20 July 1730. "Mr. William Skinner, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon." among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Died 1764. A Latin inscription on his monument in the chancel at Ledbury tells us that he was of Underdown, Esq., and mard. Judith, dau. of John Mortar, of Callow Hill, Esq. A niece was his heir (Duncumb's *Herefordshire*, supplement "Heraldry," 1848, p. 95, and "Hundred of Radlow," 1902, p. 93; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Skinner of Shirley Park"; inf. of Rector of Ledbury).

**SMALL, VYNER**, son of Joseph S., of Bibury, co. Glouc., *arm.* Matric. 29 Mch. 1726, aged 17. Gentleman commoner, in residence with Johnson for a few weeks in June-July 1729, and for last term of 1729; still on books in Oct. 1731, though not in residence since middle of 1730. Paid £10 caution 26 Apl. 1726; repaid 6 Mch. 1732/3.

**STANDLEY, RICHARD**, son of Richard S., of Wolverhampton, co. Staff., *pleb.* Matric. 26 Mch. 1729, aged 18; B.A. 1732. Batteller, first appears 21 Mch. 1728/9; perhaps in residence with Johnson a week or so in May-June 1729, and certainly from Oct. 1729.

**STEPHENS, ROBERT**, son of Nathaniel S. (died 8 Aug. 1744, aged 67), of Eastington, co. Glouc., gent., who mard. Sarah (died 13 Dec. 1736, aged 54), dau. of John King, gent. Matric. 3 Apl. 1723, aged 18; B.A. 1726; M.A. June 1729. In residence about thirteen weeks with Johnson, principally in May, June and July 1729; absent 1730 till 4 Sept., after which name omitted. "The Rev. Robert Stephens, A.M. Rector of Shefford, Berks. Three Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Admitted curate of Boxwell cum Leighterton, co. Glouc., 22 Aug. 1735. Instituted Rector of Eastington, 11 Aug. 1760, on presentation of Nathaniel Stephens, Esq.; himself resigned 1776 and presented William Davies, M.A., who was admitted 12 Apl. Not "Rev. Mr. Robert Stephens of Kelmscot, Oxf.," who died 11 Sept. 1785, and as "The Revd. Robt. Stevens (died in London)" was burd. at Kelmscot 17 Sept. 1785, for he was evidently Robert, son of Robert Stevens, of Kelmscot, *arm.*, who matric. Trin. Coll. Oxf. 10 Oct. 1758, aged 17. Robert Stephens [1665-1732] Historiographer Royal, was of the Eastington family; and related to Robert Harley [1661-1724], first Earl of Oxford, grandson of Nathaniel Stephens of Eastington (Bigland's *Glouc. Collections*, I., 539, 541; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, II., 51-2; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1785, p. 751; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Robert Stephens; inf. of Roland Austin, and of Vicar of Bradwell, Oxon., with which Kelmscot was connected in 1785).

**STONEHOUSE, GEORGE**, son of Francis S., of Hungerford Park., Berks., *arm.*, and born there 1714. Matric. 11 June 1729, aged 15; B.A. 2 May 1733; M.A. 8 June 1736. Commoner, first occurs 6 June 1729, but not in residence till Apl. 1730, after Johnson had left. Presented by Francis Stonehouse, Esq., to vicarage of Islington, 8 Apl. 1738, but in 1740 "preferring a life of privacy and retirement, resigned his vicarage. It appears, by the journals of Whitfield and Wesley, that Mr. S. was a favourer of the original Methodists; whom he occasionally indulged with the use of Islington Church; a circumstance which so extremely affected Mr. Scott, the then lecturer, that it was supposed to have hastened his death, which happened July 18, 1740." He must have known Whitefield at College (see *ante*, p. 37). Mard. 1 June 1739, in Highgate Chapel, to — Crisp, dau. of Sir John Crisp, bart. Died 5 Dec. 1793, at Bristol. In 1739 he published *A Sermon preached at Islington on December 10 1738*. About the end of 1739 he denied the Sacrament to several parishioners who had not given the day's notice required by the rubric; but under threat of proceedings he receded from this position (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1739, p. 327, 1793, p. 1154; *European Mag.*, 1793 pt. 2, p. 487; Geo. Hennessy's *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1898, p. 230; *MS. Rawl. J. fol. 5, f. 78, J. 4<sup>to</sup> 6, ff. 32-3*).

**SWYNFEN, SAMUEL**, second son of Francis S. (and Jane Doughty his wife), who was third son of John Swynfen [1612-94], of Swynfen, nr. Lichfield, M.P., referred to by Pepys on 10 Nov. 1662 as "the great Mr. Swinfen, the Parliament man." Born about 1679 at Stafford. Matric. 31 Mch 1696, aged 16; B.A. 1699; M.A. from New Inn Hall, 17 Mch. 1702/3; B. Med. 1706; D. Med. from Pembroke 1712. Appointed Lecturer of Grammar for the University, 16 July 1705. Became "a physicion of skill and great practice at Lichfield." Said to have



been lodging with Michael Johnson when Samuel was born in Sept. 1709; became boy's godfather. Mard. 18 Nov. 1710, at Weeford, by his friend the Rev. Humphrey Pipe, to Mabel, dau. and coheir of Ralph Fretwell, of Hellaby, Yorks. On death of elder brother, Richard S., M.P. for Tamworth, on 22 July 1726, became head of family, and heir to Swynfen, with its £6,700 debt. Left Lichfield in 1727 and settled in the Square at Birmingham, where he practised till his death. Name appears continuously throughout Johnson's time at Pembroke, and not omitted till after 11 June 1731, but of course there are no charges against him at all and he was not in residence. Elected Governor of Birmingham Free Grammar School Sept. 1735. On 30 Apl. 1736 contracted to sell Swynfen to a kinsman, Samuel Swinfen, of London, merchant. Died 10 May 1736, at his house in the Square. Sale of Swynfen completed by his eldest son, John S., 21 July 1736, for £19,030-10-0. Will dated 1 May 1730, proved 1 July 1736, in P.C.C. [Derby 162]; wife mentioned therein. Had three sons, and nine daus., one of whom, Elizabeth, Mrs. Desmoulins, lived many years with Dr. Johnson (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 229-30; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III, 54-5., 58-9; *Shaw's Staffs.*, II., \*27, \*29; *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 330).

**TAPIN, PETER DANIEL**, son of Daniel T., Huguenot refugee, who had settled in Jersey in 1685 and mard. Feb. 1699/1700, in St. Saviour's Church, Marie, dau. of Pierre Seale. Nephew of Rev. Thomas Seale [1690-1771], who had matric. from Pembroke 1706 (see ante, p. 204, under John Seale). Bapt. 17 Feb. 1705/6 in St. Heliers Church. Matric. 13 Apl. 1725, aged 19, from Exeter Coll., Oxf.; B.A. from Pembroke 12 Feb. 1728/9; fellow of Exeter Coll. 1731-3; M.A. 1732. Scholar, in residence with Johnson down to July 1729; in regular residence also for periods of 1730 and 1731. Paid £7 caution 10 Oct. 1726; balance of £3-2-0 repaid 4 Dec. 1745 to Ch. Le Hardy. "Tapin y<sup>e</sup> Hosier" is scribbled in buttery book 1728-29. "Peter Tapin, A.B. of Pembroke-College, Oxon. Two Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Inducted to rectory of St. Heliers 11 June 1735; died Jany. 1761, unmard.; burd. at St. Heliers, where register has :—"Le Reverend Mons<sup>r</sup> Pierre Daniel Tapin, Recteur de la Paroisse de St. Helier fut enterré le Troisième jour de Janvier mille sept Cents soixante-un. Ce saint Pasteur a été père des pauvres par sa charité, aimé de tous pendant sa vie, regreté pareillement après sa mort, et il a toujours réglé sa vie selon la Doctrine qu'il prechoit" (inf. of Madame Messervy).

**THORNTON, THOMAS**, third but eldest surviving son of Thomas T. [1664-1719], of Brockhall, Northants. (High Sheriff 1698), by Elizabeth [1674-1737] his wife, only dau. and heir of William Ward, of Brayfield upon the Green, Northants.: she mard. 2<sup>ndly</sup> in 1720, William Trimnell, D.D., Dean of Winchester, whose son Edward was at Pembroke with Johnson (see post, p. 209). Bapt. 26 Aug. 1698 at Brockhall; adm. to Lincoln's Inn 15 Feb. 1714/15. Matric. 20 May 1715 at Pembroke, aged 17. Gentleman commoner, not in residence with Johnson, but name still appears down to Oct. 1731. Of Brockhall. Died 15 Mch. 1783; burd. Brockhall. Will dated 24 Mch. 1763, with codicil of 10 May



1773, proved 28 June 1783 in P.C.C. [Cornwallis 324]. *Mard.* 16 May 1722, at Cold Ashby, to Frances [1704-91], dau. and heir of William Lee, of Cold Ashby, and left issue, of whom William T. [1728-82], Major-General, *mard.* Mary, dau. of David Trimmell, Canon of Lincoln (see *post*, below). Thomas Thornton's sister Mary [1699-1772] *mard.* 1717 Matthew Panting [1683 ?-1739], Master of Pembroke (see *ante*, p. 180). (*Victoria County History*, "Northamptonshire Families," ed. O. Barron, 1906, pp. 306-7; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Thornton of Brockhall").

**TOYE, HENRY**, son of Edward T., of Kidderminster, co. Worc., *gent.* *Matric.* 9 Feb. 1726/7, aged 18. Gentleman commoner, in unbroken residence with Johnson from Mch. to Nov. 1729; in residence again Aug. to Dec. 1730; still on books Oct. 1731. Paid £10 caution 14 Feb. 1726/7; repaid 21 May 1731. "Mr. Toy, Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon. Two Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Edward Toye witnessed will of John Bowyer, of Kidderminster, uncle by marriage to Johnson's cousin, "Parson" Ford, in 1709 (see *post*, Appendix O., p. 260).

**TOYE, WILLIAM**, son of Samuel T., of Wolverley, co. Worc., *pleb.* *Matric.* 26 Jan. 1726/7, aged 18; B.A. from Magdalen Hall 22 Feb. 1731/2. Batteller, in residence with Johnson to June 1729, except for winter vacation; in residence again for a week or two in Feb.-Mch. 1729/30, and then disappears. Paid £4 caution 14 Feb. 1726/7; £1 repaid 9 Dec. 1727 and £3 on 20 Mch. 1729/30. I think the following scribbling in the buttery book for 1728-29 refers to him and his kin:—"Toye gott drunk y<sup>e</sup> twenty fifth of July last—Pretty Molly Toye the Taylor—Sam<sup>ll</sup> Toye—Toye was drunk 19<sup>th</sup> of June—Toy the Taylor—Abraham Toy y<sup>e</sup> Taylor an Epitaph upon his dear Spouse—Toye y<sup>e</sup> Taylor—Toye y<sup>e</sup> Taylor wants to have his Wigg made an Inch wider in Diameter as he himself says—Toy y<sup>e</sup> Taylour."

**TRIMNELL, EDWARD**, younger son of William T. [died 1729], D.D., Dean of Winchester (who *mard.* Thomas Thornton's mother as his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife in 1720—see *ante*, p. 208), and grandson of Charles T. [1625 ?-1702], Rector of Abbots Ripton, Hunts., 1656-1702. *Bapt.* 23 July 1711 at Wicken, Northants. *Matric.* 13 Mch. 1728/9, aged 17; B.A. 1732. Commoner, first appears 28 Feb. 1728/9, in regular residence with Johnson thenceforward except for summer vacation. Paid £7 caution 1 Mch. 1728/9; repaid 21 Aug. 1733. "Dear Trimmell" scribbled in buttery book 1730-31. "Mr. Trimmell, Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Incorporated at Cambridge 1732, and admitted fellow at St. John's Coll. there 31 May 1733, on nomination of Bishop of Ely, who had right always to have three fellows of his nomination on foundation. *Ord. priest* at Lincoln 21 Sept. 1735, and collated to vicarage of Little Abington, Camb., Nov. 1735. Died fellow of St. John's, Camb., 9 Mch. 1736. His uncle, Charles Trimmell [1663-1723], Bishop of Norwich and Winchester. Another uncle, David Trimmell [1675 ?-1756], Canon of Lincoln, had a dau. Jane, who *mard.* 10 Feb. 1744 Johnson's old schoolfellow, Isaac Hawkins

Browne [1705-60], and had Isaac Hawkins Browne [1745-1818], the younger (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1735, p. 682, 1736, pp. 167, 233, 1744, p. 108; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Charles Trimmell and Isaac Hawkins Browne; Shaw's *Staffs.*, I., 79; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 123-4; inf. of Sir Robert F. Scott, Master of St. John's Coll., Camb.).

**TRISTRAM, WILLIAM**, son of Rev. Thomas T., Rector of Allesley, co. Warw. Born there. Matric. 29 May 1723, aged 17; B.A. 4 Feb. 1726/7; M.A. Dec. 1729. In residence with Johnson about seven or eight weeks, principally in May and June 1729; not in residence 1730, and disappears Dec. 1730. "The Rev. William Tristram, A.M. of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. William Tristram instituted Vicar of Weedon, Northants., 22 Sept. 1736, died there "much lamented by all his parishioners, with whom he constantly resided"; burd. there 22 Oct. 1747. Brother to Rev. Thomas Tristram, Rector of Hampton-in-Arden, who published what Johnson called a "splendid edition" of Vida's *Art of Poetry* in 1722-3 (see post, Appendix K., p. 219) (Baker's *Northants.*, I., 454; inf. of Vicar of Weedon; *London Mag.*, 1747, p. 485).

**VYSE, WILLIAM**, only son of William V., of Standon, Staffs., arm., Lord of the Manor of Standon. Born at Sambrook, co. Salop. Bapt. 27 Oct. 1709 at Standon, and his mother burd. same day. "William Vyse, Esqre.," evidently the father, burd. there in 1713. Matric. 11 Feb. 1726/7, aged 17; B.A. 1730; M.A. 1733. In residence with Johnson from 14 Feb. 1728/9, except for summer vacation. Paid £7 caution as commoner 14 Feb. 1726/7, and another £3 to become gentleman commoner 25 Feb. 1728/9; transferred to gentleman commoners in week beginning 21 Feb. 1728/9; on 21 July 1733 gave his caution £10, "as the customary Present," to the use of the College. "William Vyse, Esq., Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon. Three Copies," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. On 8 Nov. 1729, as patron of the living, he presented his tutor, William Jorden, to the rectory of Standon, Jorden giving a bond to evacuate it on Vyse's majority. Jorden, however, did not resign until 18 Oct. 1733, when Vyse had proceeded M.A. (see ante, Appendix B., p. 129). In this same year Vyse became Rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham. Held both livings till his death. Lord of Manor of Standon. He became Treasurer of Lichfield Cathedral 4 Jany. 1733/4, and Prebendary of Sawley; Archdeacon of Salop 1735; holding these offices till death on 29 June 1770, aged 61. Burd. in Lichfield Cathedral. Monumental inscrip. to him at St. Philip's, Birmingham. Mard. Dec. 1733 Catherine, second dau. of Richard Smalbroke [1672-1749], Bishop of Lichfield, and had issue, the elder son being William Vyse [1742-1816], Rector of Lambeth. Mrs. Vyse died 1 Aug. 1792, and was burd. with her husband. Her sister Mary mard. Edmund Bateman (see ante, p. 13). William Vyse I have identified with the "gentleman of his college" who ruffled Johnson's pride with the gift of a pair of shoes (see ante, p. 21). The proceedings of the "Court of Truth" (a social club in Lichfield) on 6 Oct. 1737 record the admission of "The Reverend William Vyse as Chaplain." Anna Seward tells us that he

"was not only a man of learning, but of Pioric talents in the metrical impromptu," instancing him as "another of the Lichfield literati, overlooked by the arrogant Johnson," as not "sunk, in servile silence, under the force of his dogmas." Boswell calls him "the respectable clergyman at Lichfield, who was contemporary with Johnson." In a letter to Lucy Porter, of 18 June 1768, Johnson says:—"I hear Mr. Vise has been lately very much in danger. I hope he is better." "Lady Smith," mentioned several times in Johnson's letters from Lichfield, between 1775 and 1779, on one occasion in reproof for having "took her tea before her mother," and not identified by Birkbeck Hill, was Catherine (bapt. 2 May 1738), eldest dau. of the Rev. William Vyse; she became 2<sup>nd</sup> wife of Sir George Smith, 1<sup>st</sup> bart. of Stoke, co. Notts. (died 11 Sept. 1769) on 23 Feb. 1768, and died 21 Feb. 1786, at her house in the Close of Lichfield, without issue (Edward Salt's *History of Standon*, 1888, pp. 137, 138, 162, 163, 242, 244, 257; Burke's *Landed Gentry*; Harwood's *Lichfield*, 203, 216; Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*; *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 Feb. 1921, p. 92 (letter from me); *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 35; Baker's *Northants.*, I., 34; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1770, p. 345, 1786, pp. 267, 351; Anna Seward's *Memoirs of Dr. Darwin*, 1804, pp. 71, 75; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 124; *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 148, 329, 335, 336; II., 93; *A Glimpse of Club Life in Lichfield, England, 1735-1740*, privately printed by R. B. Adam, at Buffalo, N. Y., 1924).

**WELTDEN, WILLIAM**, "son of Mr. Henry Weltden & Eleanor his Wife," born 21 Jany. and bapt. 19 Feb. 1712/13, at Thornby, Northants., where his father was Lord of the Manor. Matric. 26 Mch. 1729, aged 16. Commoner, first appears 14 Mch. 1728/9; in residence with Johnson till Aug. 1729; returned Feb. 1729/30; disappears after 19 June 1730. Matric. from Emmanuel Coll., Camb., Michaelmas 1732; B.A. 1733/4; M.A. 1737. Paid £7 caution 18 Mch. 1728/9; repaid 25 June 1730. The will of Eleanor Weltden, of Kibworth Beauchamp, co. Leic., widow, dated 16 Feb. 1737/8, was proved 4 Jany. 1743/4, in P.C.C. [Anstis 25], by Mary Roberts otherwise Weltden, dau. and extrix., wife of James Roberts; to be burd. at "Thurnby"; son not mentioned. The will of William Weltden, of "Thurnby," co. Northants., gent., dated 20 July 1734, was also proved 4 Jany. 1743/4, in P.C.C. [Anstis 25], by his sister, the same Mary Roberts, Eleanor Weltden, the mother and extrix. named in will, having died; probate act describes him as "formerly of Thurnby, co. Northants., but afterwards of Bedford, co. Beds., Dr. in Physic." Mary Roberts, who inherited her brother's estate, died 13 Feb. 1803 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; inf. of Rector of Thornby).

**WHITEHEAD, WILLIAM**, son of Rev. Richard W., of Painswick, co. Glouc. Matric. 30 Mch. 1726 [?], aged 20. Batteller, in residence with Johnson irregularly about sixteen weeks, principally in Nov. and Dec. 1728, Mch., May, July, Nov., and Dec. 1729; name still appears on books in Oct. 1731, though he had not been in College for six months at least. Paid £4 caution 31 Mch. 1728; repaid



31 Mch. 1732. A William Whitehead ord. at Gloucester 25 June 1732; subscribed to articles as curate of Wormington, co. Glouc., 2 Aug. 1738; given leave to remove from Wormington to Childswickham, 8 Aug. 1739 (inf. of Roland Austin).

**WHITEHOUSE, JEREMIAH**, son of Edward W., of Ashmores, Wolverhampton, *pleb.* Bapt. 29 July 1706. Matric. 26 May 1726, aged 19. Batteller, in residence with Johnson Feb. to July 1729; not in residence again; but still on books in Oct. 1731. Paid £4 caution 10 June 1726; £1 repaid (no date). Remaining £3 balanced against his outstanding battels at convention of 26 Mch. 1740. Candidate for position of usher at Wolverhampton Grammar School in 1738; unsuccessful through having no degree (Gerald Mander's *History of Wolverhampton Grammar School*).

**WIGHT, THOMAS**, son of Edward W., of Painswick, co. Glouc., *pleb.* Matric. 25 Feb. 1724/5, aged 18; B.A. June 1729. Entered as commoner; paid £7 caution 26 Feb. 1724/5; scholar when resident with Johnson from Feb. to 13 June 1729, and 21 Nov. to 12 Dec. 1729; disappears after 1 May 1731. Caution repaid 1 Apl. 1731. There are inscriptions in Painswick Church to Edward Wight, died 12 June 1740, and Thomas Wight, died 2 May 1748 (*Glouc. Notes and Queries*, I., 189).

**WIGHTWICK, CURTEIS**, son of John W., of Ashford, Kent, gent. Descended from Humphrey W. [1570-1642], of Ashford. Matric. 13 Mch. 1721/2, aged 18; B.A. 1725; M.A. July 1730. Scholar, in residence with Johnson five last weeks in Nov.-Dec. 1729. Adm. fellow 23 Dec. 1731 in place of William Jorden; succeeded by Thomas Griffith 4 Feb. 1743. Presented by Lord Chancellor to Vicarage of St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury, 23 Nov. 1742, and inducted 26 Nov.; resigned 1751. Rector of Bonnington, Kent, 1742 to 1753 (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 179, 328; Edward Hasted's *Canterbury*, 1799, p. 84; inf. of Rector of Bonnington).

**WIGHTWICK, FRANCIS**, son of James W., of Waltham St. Lawrence, Berks., Esq., and of Mary Rudge his wife. Born 1711. Matric. 23 Oct. 1729, aged 16. Commoner, first appears 10 Oct. 1729; in residence till Johnson left; on 20 Feb. 1729/30 elevated to rank of gentleman commoner; in regular residence down to Oct. 1731. Paid £7 caution 17 Oct. 1729, and another £3 on 20 Feb. 1729/30; £10 repaid 22 Mch. 1732/3 to Tipping Silvester. "Mr. Francis Wightwick, Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke-College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Barr.-at-law, Middle Temple, 1737; bencher 1767. Of Wombridge House, Waltham St. Lawrence. A generous benefactor to his College, under his will of 20 May 1776. Died 1783 (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 178, 303, 514).

**WIGHTWICK, JOHN**, fourth and youngest son of Francis W. [1683-1714], of Dunstall, Staffs., Esq., Bencher of the Middle Temple, by Elizabeth [d. 1736] his



wife, dau. of Rev. James Hancox, minister of Worfield, co. Salop, whose second wife, Anne [1636 ?-1719], widow of Joseph Baker (see *ante*, p. 182), was aunt to Samuel Swynfen (see *ante*, p. 207). His grandfather, Francis Wightwick [1653-95], mard. Elizabeth [died. 1731], dau. of Walter Fowler, whose wife, Elizabeth Hinton, was sister to Charles Hinton, of Lichfield, the master of Elizabeth Blaney. Born at Wolverhampton. Matric. 25 May 1723, aged 15; B.A. 9 Feb. 1726/7; M.A. Oct. 1729. Scholar, in residence with Johnson Feb. to Aug. and Nov. to Dec. 1729. "The Rev. John Wightwick, A.M. of Pemb. College, Oxon.," among Husbands's subscribers of 1731. Adm. fellow 1 Aug. 1732, on Wightwick foundation, in place of William Adams; succeeded by Henry Wightwick, 18 Mch. 1740/1. Curate of Barnes, Surrey, under Rev. Samuel Baker (see *ante*, p. 181), and afterwards Rector of St. Paul's, Shadwell. Died 4 Mch. 1740/1; burd. at Barnes. Mard. June 1740 to Anne (born 17 Feb. 1706/7; bapt. 4 Mch. at St. Michael's Bassishaw, London), dau. of John Baker [1663-1727], of Basinghall Street, sister of Sir William Baker [1705-70], Knt., Alderman of London, and niece of Rev. Samuel Baker just mentioned. She died of apoplectic fit, 1 Sept. 1790, at Windsor, and was burd. with husband at Barnes, leaving a son John W., born 2 days after his father's death (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 178; Shaw's *Staffs.*, II., 201; Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, "Hundred of Hertford," 1876, p. 144; *Victoria County History*, "Hertfordshire Families," ed. Duncan Warrand, 1907, p. 26; *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 266-7).

**WILLIAMS, THOMAS**, son of Thomas W., of Ewell, Surrey, *arm.* Matric. from Hart Hall, 5 July 1721, aged 17; B.A. from Pembroke 16 Oct. 1723. Scholar, not in residence with Johnson, and name omitted after Nov. 1730.

## APPENDIX K.

### JOHNSON'S UNDERGRADUATE LIBRARY

(See *ante*, pp. 27-30)

WHEN I began to attempt identification of all the books enumerated at the end of Johnson's letter to Gilbert Repington, of 18 May 1735, it was solely with the object of fixing the dates of their publication and so discovering whether they threw any light on the length of his residence at Oxford. But as he could have acquired them all before coming up to the University in October 1728,\* such evidence

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\* See *post*, p. 226, under Pope's *Miscellanies*.

as they provided in this direction was purely negative. However, the final result of my enquiries, which I print below, went far beyond my original intention, and I hope will have a value as a contribution to our knowledge of Johnson's early intellectual and literary tastes. On these hundred odd volumes must largely have been founded his immense knowledge of ancient and modern literature, though of course there are many subjects and many authors with which he had made himself familiar that are unrepresented here.

To me, who am an ignorant child in such matters, this labour of bibliographical research was heavy and difficult, though successful in the majority of cases. Fortunately, after I had broken the back of the task, I was able to engage the interest of others who were expert in this field—Mr. L. F. Powell, Taylorian Librarian at Oxford and a most erudite Johnsonian scholar ; Dr. Henry Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library at Manchester ; and Mr. Leonard Whibley, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to all of whom my special thanks are due for their help in bringing this piece of work much nearer finality than I was able to carry it unassisted. The titles are given exactly as Johnson wrote them.

#### "SCALIGERI (JOS) POEMATATA."

The *Poematata* of Josephus Justus Scaliger [1540-1609] were first published at Leyden in 1615 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). "The Doctor had a strong liking for the two Scaligers, partly on account of the rich biographical material which came to his hand, and partly, perhaps, because he felt that he himself bore some fancied resemblance to them" (P. H. Houston's *Doctor Johnson : A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism*, 1923, p. 31).

#### "MORI UTOPIA."

Sir Thomas More [1478-1535] wrote his *Utopia*, in Latin, in 1515-16. There were, of course, numerous editions, and we cannot say which Johnson's would be.

#### "QUINTILIANUS."

In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (79) "*Quintiliani de institutione oratoria*, Ox. 1693," and (622) "*Quintiliani Aldus*, 1512." The Oxford edition of 1693 was that of Edmund Gibson [1669-1748], afterwards Bishop of London (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), in 2 vols. (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4th ed. 1827, II., 368) ; it being also issued the same year, for the University Press, in 1 vol. quarto. It was presumably this latter edition that Johnson had at College, as his list carefully indicates when there was more than 1 vol. He quotes Quintilian in his life of Dryden (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 416), and of Rowe (*ibid.*, II., 77). In his

preface to Dodsley's *Preceptor*, 1748, he recommends *Quintilian*, with the *Rhetorick* of Vossius, as an advanced textbook (*Works*, 1825, Vol. V., p. 240). To Windham, in 1784, he quoted what "Quintilian says of Lucan" (*Diary of William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, pp. 18-19).

"HORATIUS DELPH."

"The Delphin Horace," one of the series of Latin classics produced for the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. (J. E. Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*, 1908, II., 292). An edition by P. Rodellius, "*in usum Delphini*," was published at London in 1690, with a second edition in 1711; and an edition by Lud. Desprez, "*in usum Delphini*," at Paris in 1691, with reprints at London in 1694, 1699, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1711, 1717, 1727, 1734, etc. (J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, 1860-5; Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824).

"SALMASII DEF. REGIS."

"MILTONII DEF. POPULI."

Johnson himself tells us, in his life of Milton, that Claude Salmasius [1588-1653] published his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* in 1649; and tells us also of the reply which Milton was required to write to it, *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 112). This reply was published in Feb. 1650/1 (see an exhaustive article thereon by F. F. Madan in *The Library*, New Series, Vol. IV.). In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books in 1785 we find (146) "*Salmasii Opera*."

"MILT. DEFENSIO PRO SE."

Milton published his *Pro Se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum* on 8 Aug. 1655 (David Masson's *Life of John Milton*, V., 198).

"CLERICI ARS CRITICA 3 VOL."

The *Ars Critica* of Jean Le Clerc [1657-1736], philosopher, theologian and critic, was first published at Amsterdam in 1696, 2 vols. A new edition, also in 2 vols., was issued in 1699, and 3 vol. editions in 1712 and 1730. The third volume has a different title page, but the engraved frontispiece to each vol. bears the title "*Clerici Ars Critica*," which also appears lettered on all three vols. of the copy in the Taylorian Library at Oxford (inf. of L. F. Powell). Johnson evidently had the 1712 edition.

"SILIUS ITALICUS."

The 1600 edition of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, by Daniel Heinsius [1580-1655], was republished at Cambridge in 1646. A "very useful edition" by Cellarius was published at Leipzig in 1695, and a splendid edition by Drakenborch, at Utrecht, in 1717 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1827, II., 405-6).

"HEINSII NOTA AD SILIUM."

Prof. E. Bensly identifies this as the *Crepundia Siliana* of Daniel Heinsius, which

was published at Cambridge in 1646. It consists of notes on Silius Italicus *De Bello Punico*, and Mr. Powell tells me that the running title (or headline) is "*D. Heynsii | In 1 [2, 3, etc.] Lib. Silii Notæ*," which is evidently the one used by Johnson.

#### "ITALORUM POEMATATA SELECT."

Pope's *Selecta Poemata Italarum* was not published till 1740, in 2 vols. ; it was practically a republication of *Anthologia, seu selecta quædam Poemata Italarum qui Latinè scripserunt*, printed at London in 1684 ("Aldine Poets," Pope, ed. Alex. Dyce, 1877, I., cxviii). It must have been this latter work that Johnson possessed. One John Collins, who entered Pembroke 40 years after Johnson, paid 3s/- for "*Poemata Italarum*" while there, but perhaps this was Pope's book (Maclean's "*Pembroke College*," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 407).

#### "BEZAE TESTAMENTUM."

To his friend the Rev. George Strahan Johnson bequeathed his "Beza's Greek Testament, by Stephens" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 403). Beza's Latin version of the *Testament* was first published at Geneva in 1556, and in 1559 was published at Basle with Robert Stephen's Greek version of 1551. Dibdin says that "the first complete Greek and Latin edition of the N.T. by Beza cannot be said to have been published before the year 1565," at Geneva, where further editions followed in 1582, 1588 or 1589, and 1598. An edition published at Cambridge in 1642 is said to be the best and fullest (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4th ed. 1827, I., 125). Possibly the *Beza* Johnson left to Strahan was the one he had at College, but whether or no we cannot identify the edition.

#### "HORACE'S ODES ENGLISH."

Johnson told Boswell, of his early reading, that "Horace's Odes were the compositions in which he took most delight" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 70), but he would there be referring to the original. In his life of Wentworth Dillon [1633 ?-85], 4th Earl of Roscommon, Johnson says that "his versions of the two odes of Horace are made with great liberty, which is not recompensed by much elegance or vigour" (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 238). Roscommon's translation—of the 22nd Ode of the 1st Book, and the 6th Ode of the 3rd Book—was published at London in 1717 (J. W. Moss's *Manual of Classical Bibliography*, 1825, II., 55). But Johnson's book was no doubt one of the numerous complete English translations of the Odes, of which Moss enumerates over a dozen between 1625 and 1719 (*ibid.*, II., 52-5). See also *post*, p. 222.

#### "THEOCRITUS CUM SCHOLIIS GR."

An edition of *Theocritus* was published at Oxford in 1676, the second edition of which, in 1699, was "*cum scholiis*" and reprinted at London in 1729 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4th ed. 1827, II., 487). "Theocritus is not deserving of very high respect as a writer," said Johnson to Bennet Langton (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 2). From some early



papers of Johnson's Boswell found that he had at some time counted the lines in "some parts of Theocritus," with a view to methodical study (*ibid.*, I., 72). Theocritus was one of the writers he recommended his young cousin, Samuel Ford, about 1735, to read before going up to the University (*ibid.*, I., 100; *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 Sept. 1924, p. 577; *ante*, p. 63).

"CANINII HELLENISMUS."

Angelus Caninius [d. 1557] published his Greek grammar called *Hellenismus* at Paris in 1555 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824).

"LUCRETIIUS."

Thomas Creech [1659-1700] edited *Lucretius* in 1695; it was published at Oxford in that year, and reprinted, "very incorrectly," at London, in 1717. Jacob Tonson [1656?-1736] brought out a "sumptuous" edition, at London, in 1712 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 201-2). Johnson quotes Lucretius in a letter to Thomas Warton, 25 Mch. 1755 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 283).

"VIRGILIUS N. HEINSIIUS."

Nicholas Heinsius [1620-81] published his edition of *Virgil* at Amsterdam in 1664, and there were subsequent editions in 1671 and 1676 [T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 548, as well as in 1681 and 1704 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*).

"SCALIGER DE CAUSIS LING. LAT."

The *De causis Linguae Latinæ* of Julius Cæsar Scaliger [1484-1558], "the earliest Latin grammar on scientific principles and following a scientific method" (*Encycl. Brit.*), was published at Lyons in 1540. No doubt Johnson had some later edition.

"CASTALIONIS BIBLIA 4 VOL."

In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (139) "*Castellionis biblia sacra*, 4<sup>t</sup>." Alberto da Costello's *Biblia cum cordantiis* . . . . . A *Castellanii* was published at Lyons in 1506, 1512 and 1513, and at Venice in 1511 (inf. of H. Guppy).

"ERASMI COLLOQUIA."

It is quite impossible to say which edition of the *Colloquies* this would be. In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (258) "*Erasmi opera* 4<sup>t</sup>." At Ashburne, a few months before his death, Johnson told Windham that "Erasmus appears to be totally ignorant of science and natural knowledge. But one Italian writer is mentioned in Erasmus" (*Diary of William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, p. 20).

"EACHARD'S GAZETTEER."

The Rev. Lawrence Echard [1670?-1730] was author of *The Gazetteer's or News-man's Interpreter: being a Geographical Index of all the considerable Cities*

*Patriarchships, Bishopricks, . . . . . in Europe.* The 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. was in 1695, and the 12<sup>th</sup> in 1724 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (379) "Echard's works, 3 v.," but Dr. Guppy thinks that this would be the *Works* of John Eachard [1636?-97], the distinguished Cambridge divine, edited in 3 vols., 1773-4, by Thomas Davies, who received assistance from Johnson in writing the life of Eachard. Johnson, in his life of George Granville, mentions that he defended General Monk from "some misrepresentations of Mr. [Lawrence] Echard" (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 292).

"EACHARD'S CLASSICAL GEOG."

Perhaps *A Most Compleat Compendium of Geography, General and Special*, published by Laurence Echard in 1691, of which there were eight editions to 1713 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

"SHERLOCK ON DEATH."

William Sherlock [1641?-1707], Dean of St. Paul's, published his *Practical Discourse concerning Death* in 1689 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*); nineteen editions appeared between then and 1723.

"LOCKE ON EDUCATION."

John Locke [1632-1704] published his treatise *On Education* in 1693 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson quotes the work frequently in his *Dictionary*.

"UPTONI DIONYS. HAL."

James Upton [1670-1749] published his edition of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* in 1702; there was a reprint in 1728 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

"BARECROFT'S ADVICE TO A SON."

*Advice to a son in the University*, by J. Barecroft, D.D., in two parts, the second of which bears date 1710 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*). The first part seems to have been issued in 1708 (Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, p. 148).

"LIVIUS 2."

This probably means vol. 2 of a complete edition of Livy.

"LONGINUS."

John Hudson [1662-1719] published an edition of *Longinus* at Oxford in 1710, "enlarged editions" bearing date 1718 and 1730. The edition of Zachary Pearce [1690-1774], afterwards Bishop of Rochester, was published at London in 1724 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 177; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson quotes *Longinus* in his life of Dryden (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 412); and in his life of Prior (*ibid.*, II., 208). Mr. L. F. Powell remarks:—"The work [*On the Sublime*] was very highly rated by Pope, Gibbon, and indeed by most eighteenth century writers: it is very interesting to find that Johnson had a copy as an undergraduate."

### " SOPHOCLES."

In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (11) "*Sophocles a T. Johnson.*" Thomas Johnson's edition of *Sophocles* was published in instalments, the first at Oxford in 1705, the second at Oxford in 1708, and the remainder not until 1746, after Thomas Johnson's death (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In the Library of Pembroke College is the edition of *Sophocles* published at Cambridge in 1665, two vols. in one (Vol. I., plays, Greek on recto, Latin version on verso; Vol. II., scholia, Greek only), bound in calf of *circa* 1700, inside the front cover of which is inscribed in bold lettering, "SAM: JOHNSON 1726," and on second flyleaf, smudged while wet, another similar "SAM: JOHNSON." This book was presented on 24 July 1912 by the Rev. J. B. Pearson, Rector of Whitestone, Exeter, whose father's name it bears on its first flyleaf:—"E libris G. Pearson, Scholæ Carthusianæ Alumnus, 1807." This George Pearson [1791-1860], afterwards Rector of Castle Camps, was eldest son of Lucy Porter's legatee, the Rev. John Batteridge Pearson [1749-1808], who himself knew Johnson well (see *ante*, I., 13-17). Mr. R. G. Collingwood, the Librarian of Pembroke, tells me that this *Sophocles* shows very little sign of use. It was on 27 Aug. 1726 that Johnson acquired Adam Littleton's *Latin Dictionary* (*ante*, III., 164-5).

### " SÆTONIUS VARIORUM."

A Variorum edition of Suetonius was published at Leyden in 1647, with fresh editions in 1651, 1662 and 1667, containing the notes of Lipsius, Salmasius and others. The 1662 edition is said to be "a correct and well-published book" (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 441). Johnson quotes Suetonius in his life of Dryden (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 469); and in his life of Pope (*ibid.*, III., 166).

### " VIDAÆ ARS POETICA."

Marco Girolamo Vida [*c.* 1489-1566], the Italian scholar, produced his didactic poem *The Art of Poetry* between 1520 and 1527 (*Encycl. Brit.*). Johnson's copy was perhaps "Tristram's splendid edition," alluded to by him in his life of Christopher Pitt (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 277-8; and see *post*, p. 228). *Poemata, pars prima; continens de Arte Poetica Lib. iii; Bucolica et Epist. ad J. Matth. Gilbertum, cum Authoris Vita, et Annot. per Tho. Tristram*, was published at Oxford in 1722 and 1723 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). This was Thomas Tristram who had taken his B.A. at Pembroke in 1717 and his M.A. in 1720; Rector of Castle Combe, Wilts., 1723, and of Hampton-in-Arden, co. Warwick, 1726 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*), the identification being proved by a letter of Shenstone's, dated June 1749, to his old Solihull schoolfellow, Richard Jago (see *post*, Appendix L., p. 234), in which he mentions "a small gold seal of Vida's head, given by Vertue to a relation of mine, who published Vida, and introduced Vertue into business. — Perhaps you remember Mr. Tristram of Hampton, and the day we spent there from school; it was his" (*Shenstone's Works*, 1773, III., 159-60). Shenstone was great-grandson of one William Tristram, whose brother, John Tristram, in 1654 married Margaret Hickman of Stourbridge, aunt of that Gregory Hickman whose widow Jane

married Johnson's uncle Dr. Joseph Ford (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 105 and Pedigree XXVII). Thomas Tristram of Hampton-in-Arden was son of Thomas Tristram, Rector of Allesley, co. Warwick, and grandson of William Tristram of Oldswinford (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). In the list of subscribers to *Husbands's Miscellany* in 1731 (see *ante*, p. 179), we find "The Rev. Thomas Tristram, A.M. late Fellow of Pembroke-College, Oxon." And Erasmus Philipps, of Pembroke, in his diary, under 25 Sept. 1720, mentions the "Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Thomas Tristram, M.A. and Fellow and Librarian of the College," on 17 Aug. 1721 recording that he "went with Mr. Tristram to the Poetical Club" (Maclean's "Pembroke College," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXIII., 324, 326). For his brother William Tristram, who was at Pembroke with Johnson, see *ante*, Appendix J., p. 210. Hearne in his diary, under 1 May 1723, remarks:—"I am told that Dr. Mead hath a MS. of *Vida de conservazione Reipublicæ*, & that he hath offered it to Mr. Tristram of Pembroke Coll., Oxon., to print, w<sup>ch</sup> Tristram hath already published part of *Vida*, that had been printed many times before" (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, L., 71). And under 29 June 1723 he mentions "one Tristram of Pembroke Coll." as having published a drawing of a certain old house at Oxford, "with very silly, ridiculous things & words in it," in conjunction with a Trinity man—"both of them very conceited Fellows, & of little Understanding, tho' both are Masters of Arts" (*ibid.*, L., 92).

#### "QUILLETI CALLIPÆDIA."

Claudius Quillet [1602-61] published the first edition of his *Callipædia* at Leyden in 1655 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). A London edition appeared in 1708, and a translation by William Oldisworth [1680-1734], London also, in 1729 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

#### "MUSAE ANGLICANAE 2 VOL."

*Musae Anglicanae*, in 2 vols., was published at Oxford, 1692-9 (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 319).

#### "BAXTER DE ANALOGIA."

William Baxter [1650-1723] published his *De Analogia, sive Arte Linguae Latinae Commentariolus*, at London, in 1679 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). And see *post*, p. 229.

#### "LANDESII POEMATATA."

"Dr. Hall [Master of Pembroke] had a small volume of hendecasyllabic poetry, entitled *Poetae Rusticantis Literatum Otium, sive Carmina Andreae Francisci Landesii*. Lond. 1713; which belonged to Johnson, and some peculiarities of the style of these verses may be traced in his college compositions. CROKER" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 16). George William Hall was Master 1809-43 (Maclean's "Pembroke College," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 428).



" HOMERI ILIAS DIDYMI."

" Homer, whom he venerated as the prince of poets " (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell* II., 129). In the " Sale Catalogue " of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (292) "*Homeri Ilias Didymi, Cant. 1689.*" *Homeri Ilias, et veterum in eam Scholia, quae vulgo appellantur Didymi*, was published at Cambridge and London in 1689 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*).

" SENECAE OPERA."

In the " Sale Catalogue " of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (375) "*Senecae opera.*" An edition in 1 vol. folio (and Johnson's was evidently a 1 vol. edition) Dr. Guppy says was edited by J. Lipsius and published at the Plantin press, Antwerp, in 1652.

" CLAUDIANUS HEINSII."

The *Claudianus* of Nicholas Heinsius was published at Leyden in 1650, and again at Amsterdam in 1665 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, I., 471). At one time Johnson had thoughts of preparing " Claudian, a new edition of his works, cum notis variorum in the manner of Burman " (Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 82); this must have been after 1760, when Burman's edition was published at Amsterdam (Dibdin, I., 472). In the " Sale Catalogue " of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (8) "*Lambini Claudianus*" and (165) "*Claudiani opera.*" I have not traced the edition of Dionysius Lambinus, who was a Ciceronian editor, nor has Dr. Guppy; and the Cambridge University Librarian, who has made a pretty extensive search, tells Mr. Whibley he declines to believe in its existence. Lambinus was familiar to Johnson as a translator of Aristotle (*Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 14).

" BUCHANANI POEMATATA 2 VOL."

George Buchanan's *Poemata* were first published at Edinburgh in 1615, in 1 vol. (Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, 1864). The *Opera Omnia* of Buchanan, ed. Thomas Ruddiman, were published in 2 vols. at Edinburgh in 1715 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). In the " Sale Catalogue " of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (15) "*Buchanananni poemata,*" presumably 1 vol. There were 1 vol. editions published at Leyden in 1621, 1628 and 1676 (Willems' *Les Elzevir*, pp. 53, 77, 388). Johnson's admiration for him is very completely evidenced. " Buchanan, whose name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern latinity," he apostrophizes him on coming to St. Andrews (*Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 5). " However unfavourable to Scotland, he uniformly gave liberal praise to George Buchanan, as a writer . . . . the only man of genius his country ever produced " (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 185-6). " A very fine poet," he called him in 1763 (*ibid.*, I., 460). And again [1769] :—" He not only had great knowledge of the Latin language, but was a great poetical genius. Both the Scaligers praise him " (*ibid.*, II., 96). " He defied any one to produce [1775] a classical book, written in Scotland since Buchanan " (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 48).

### " OVIDIUS 3 VOL."

In the " Sale Catalogue " of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (507) "*P. Ovidii Nasonis, 3 v. notis variorum*, L.B. 1663," (618) "*Ovidii, 3 tom Amst. 1701*," and (620) "*Ovidii Burmannus, 3 tom.*" A *Variorum* edition of *Ovid*, in 3 vols., was published at Leyden ["L.B." = Lugd. Bat. = Leyden] in 1662, with fresh editions, also in 3 vols., in 1670, 1683 and 1702 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 267). Burman's edition is said to have been first published at Amsterdam, in 1727, in 4 vols. (*ibid.*, II., 268), but Mr. Powell notes editions of 1713 (Amsterdam), and 1715 (Leipzig). It will be noticed that in no case here does the " Sale Catalogue " agree with Dibdin, but even without these discrepancies we could not identify the edition used by Johnson at College ; and, as Mr. Powell suggests, he may have lost one vol. of the Burman edition.

### " HORATIUS."

While yet a schoolboy Johnson had tried his hand at translating some of the Odes of Horace (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 51-2). " Horace's Odes were the compositions in which he took most delight," as a young man, " and it was long before he liked his Epistles and Satires " (*ibid.*, I., 70). At one time he counted the lines in Horace's *Art of Poetry* (*ibid.*, I., 72). Horace was recommended by him to his young cousin, Samuel Ford, about 1735, as one of the first Latin authors to read (*ibid.*, I., 100 ; *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 Sept. 1924, p. 577).

### " BARCLAII ARGENIS."

#### " BARCLAII SATYRICON."

John Barclay [1582-1621] published his *Argenis*, a political satire in Latin, in 1621 ; and his *Satyricon* in 1603-7 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

#### " BONFONII PANCHARIS."

John Bonefonius [1554-1614] published his *Pancharis*, in the style of Catullus, at Paris, in 1588 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). A version, translated into English by several hands, appeared at London in 1721.

### " LUCANUS."

A *Variorum* edition of *Lucanus* was published at Leyden in 1658, with a second edition in 1669. An edition by Cortius was published at Leipzig in 1726 ; and a " very excellent " one, by Oudendorp, at Leyden in 1728 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 185-6). In praising Nicholas Rowe's version of *Lucan*, Johnson says " there is perhaps none that so completely exhibits the genius and spirit of the original " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 77). But shortly before his death he told Windham that " it would have been improved if Rowe had had a couple of years to render it less paraphrastical " (*Diary of William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, p. 18).

"GR. TEST. LEUSDENI."

Johann Leusden [1624-99], the Dutch Hebraist, published his *Greek Testament* at Utrecht in 1675 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). There were further editions of Leusden at Amsterdam, in 1688, 1698, 1701 and 1717 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, I., 142). In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs a (8) "*Testamentum Græc.*"

"TULLIUS DE OFF:"

To young George Strahan Johnson wrote on 16 Apl. 1763, "I will allow you but six weeks for Tully's Offices" (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 97), and to F. A. Barnard, on 28 May 1768, "of Tully's Offices, the edition of Fust [1465] is the most curious, and that of Grævius the most useful" (*ibid.*, I., 144). The edition by Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer of Cicero's *De Officiis* was published in 1465, at Metz, with a second edition in 1466. The edition by John George Grævius [1632-1703] was published at Amsterdam in 1688, "printed more correctly in 1691, and much enlarged in 1710" (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, I., 408, 410, 415; Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). Tully was one of the authors recommended (generally) to his young cousin, Samuel Ford, about 1735 (see *ante*, p. 63) for preliminary study (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 100). Speaking of the Scottish boy's education, he said that "he who is not able to read a page of Tully will be able to become a surveyor, or to lay out a garden" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 308-9).

"TULLII EPIST. AD FAMIL."

An edition by Grævius of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares* was published at Amsterdam in 1677, but in 2 vols.; a 1 vol. edition, Dr. Guppy tells me, was published at Leipzig in 1698, and again, "much improved by Cortius," in 1722 and 1735 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, I., 423).

"TULLII EPIST. AD ATT."

Dibdin gives no single volume edition of the *Epistolæ ad Atticum* later than that issued at Venice in 1571, but Dr. Guppy says there was one at Leyden in 1592. That of Grævius, at Amsterdam in 1684, was in 2 vols., as was that of Verburgius at Amsterdam in 1727 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, I., 427-8). Starting on his Welsh Tour, in 1774, Johnson "read Tully's *Epistles*," on 6 July, in the coach between Barnet and Dunstable; and on 9 July, between Lichfield and Ashburne, he "read a little in Tully's *Epistles* and *Martial*" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 428-9). We cannot say which of the *Epistles* this would be, but may be sure it was in a handy-sized edition.

"TACITUS."

Dibdin gives no single-volume edition of *Tacitus* later than that of Freinshemus,

at Strasburg, in 1664 (*Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1827, II., 452); but Dr. Guppy tells me of one at Venice in 1676, and Amsterdam in 1734. "Tacitus, Sir, seems to me rather to have made notes for an historical work, than to have written a history"—Johnson to Boswell, 14 Apl. 1772 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 189). He quotes from the *Agricola* of Tacitus in a letter to Mrs. Thrale of 5 June 1783 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 297).

"CATULLUS. TIBULL. PROPERT."

A *Variorum* edition of *Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius*, compiled by J. G. Grævius, was published at Utrecht in 1680; and "a splendid and accurate edition" came from Cambridge in 1702 (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1827, I., 377). Dr. Guppy notes a London edition of 1684.

"VALERIUS FLACCUS HEINSII."

Nicholas Heinsius published his edition of *Valerius Flaccus* at Amsterdam in 1680. This was republished at Padua in 1718 and 1720, the last edition being called "a very correct edition" (T. F. Dibdin's *Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1827, II., 516). In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (195) "*Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Burmanni, L.B.* [Leyden] 1724."

"RUTGERSII VENUSINAE LECT."

John Rutgers [1589-1625] was a Dutch critic and author. His *Lectiones Venusinæ* were printed in 1699 with Peter Burman's *Horace* (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824).

"KENNET'S ROMAN ANTIQ."

Basil Kennett [1674-1715] published his *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia, or the Antiquities of Rome*, in 1696 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*); later editions were Oxford 1704, and London 1721. In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, we find (38) "*Kennet's antiquities.*" John Collins, a later undergraduate of Pembroke, purchased this work for 3s/6, about 1768 (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 406).

"SPENSER'S WORKS 3 VOL."

*The Works of that famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, were published at London, in 3 parts, in 1679 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*). In the "Sale Catalogue" of Johnson's books, in 1785, occurs (268) "Spencer's works, 6 v." Dr. Guppy notes that a 6 volume edition of *The Works of Spenser* was published at London in 1715; a 6 volume edition was published at London in 1750 by J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*). Frequently quoted in *Dictionary*.

"MILTON'S POEMS VOL. 2D."

We can scarcely identify this edition. It is of interest to know that Johnson the undergraduate had some of Milton, whom he quotes very frequently in the *Dictionary*.



### " DRYDEN'S VIRGIL 3 VOL."

John Dryden [1631-1700] published a translation of *Virgil* in 1697. " In 1694," says Johnson, " he began the most laborious and difficult of all his works, the translation of *Virgil* " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 386), which " certainly excelled whatever had appeared in English " (*ibid.*, I., 449). A second edition of Dryden's *Virgil* appeared in 1709, and a third in the same year. A fourth edition, the first in 3 vols., appeared in 1716, and a fifth, in 3 vols., in 1721 ; it was presumably one of these that Johnson had, unless it was the sixth edition of 1730, also in 3 vols. (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824).

### " DRYDEN'S JUVENAL."

Dryden published his translation of *Juvenal* in 1693 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). " The general character of this translation will be given when it is said to preserve the wit, but to want the dignity of the original " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 447).

### " DRYDEN'S FABLES."

Johnson says :—" His last work was his *Fables*, published in 1699 . . . . . Part of this book of *Fables* is the first *Iliad* in English, intended as a specimen of a version of the whole. Considering into what hands Homer was to fall [those of Pope], the reader cannot but rejoice that this project went no further " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 388-9). Johnson found Dryden's works very useful in the compilation of his *Dictionary*.

### " WALLER'S POEMS."

The first edition of Edmund Waller's *Poems* was published in 1645 ; Johnson's copy might have been that or any succeeding edition down to the tenth in 1722 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*).

### " HUDIBRASS."

Samuel Butler [1612-80] published *Hudibras* in 1663-78 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). " There is in *Hudibras* a great deal of bullion which will always last," said Johnson, at Richard Owen Cambridge's, on 18 Apl. 1775 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 369). In N<sup>o</sup> 59 of *The Idler* he wrote that *Hudibras*, " once quoted by princes, . . . . . is now seldom mentioned, and even by those that affect to mention, it is seldom read." Nevertheless he quoted it himself frequently in his *Dictionary*, though rarely giving the author's name.

### " PRYOR'S POEMS 2 VOLS."

Matthew Prior's *Poems on several occasions* was published in one vol. in 1718, and in two vols. in 1725 and 1740 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). So Johnson's would appear to have been the 1725 edition. " If Prior's poetry be generally considered his praise," says Johnson, " will be that of correctness and industry, rather than of compass of comprehension or activity of fancy " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 207). Prior is occasionally quoted in the *Dictionary*.

### "ADDISON'S WORKS 4 VOL."

Addison's *Miscellaneous Works*, in 4 vols., were published at London in 1721, and again in 1730 (Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824). In Johnson's words, "as a describer of life and manners he must be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank" (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 148). And again:—"Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison" (*ibid.*, II., 150); and Woodhouse, the poet, was told he must do the same, if he meant "either to be a good writer, or what is more worth, an honest man" (Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, 2nd ed., p. 125). Frequently quoted in *Dictionary*.

### "GUARDIAN 2 VOL."

*The Guardian's* last number was dated 1 Oct. 1713. It was published at London, in 2 vols., in 1714; and a fifth edition appeared there, also in 2 vols., in 1729.

### "POPE'S HOMER IL. AND ODYSS. II VOL."

Johnson tells that, in Oct. 1713, Pope "offered an English *Iliad* to subscribers, in six volumes in quarto, for six guineas, a sum, according to the value of money at that time, by no means inconsiderable, and greater than I believe to have been ever asked before" (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 110). The first four books appeared in 1715 (*ibid.*, III., 126), and the publication was completed in 1720 (*ibid.*, III., 136). "Soon after the appearance of the *Iliad*, resolving not to let the general kindness cool, he published proposals [dated 10 Jany. 1724/5] for a translation of the *Odyssey*, in five volumes, for five guineas" (*ibid.*, III., 139). This was published in 1725 (*ibid.*, III., 142). "Sir, it is the greatest work of the kind that has ever been produced"—Johnson to Boswell, 9 Apl. 1778 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 257). "Dr. J. said he had never read through the *Odyssey* completely in the original" (*Diary of William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, p. 17). A duodecimo ed. of Pope's *Iliad* appeared in 1720-21, also in six vols.; and of his *Odyssey* in 1725-6, also in five vols.

### "POPES MISC. 2 VOL."

In his Life of Pope, Johnson says that in 1727 he "joined with Swift, who was then in England, to publish three volumes of *Miscellanies*" (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 144), to which he "prefixed a querulous and apologetical Preface" (*ibid.*, III., 38). *This is the latest published work in Johnson's library.*

### "PHILLIPS'S TRAGEDIES."

Ambrose Philips issued his *Three Tragedies*, viz., "The Distrest Mother," "The Briton," and "Humfrey Duke of Gloucester," in three parts, London, 1725. It was only a collection of previously published dramas, with a general title-page (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*). The two first plays are quoted in the *Dictionary*.

### "YOUNG ON THE LAST DAY."

In 1713 Edward Young [1683-1765] published his *Poem on the Last Day* (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 365-6). Johnson says:—"His poem on *The Last Day*, his first great performance, has an equability and propriety which he

afterwards either never endeavoured or never attained. Many paragraphs are noble and few are mean, yet the whole is languid ; the plan is too much extended, and a succession of images divides and weakens the general conception : but the great reason why the reader is disappointed is that the thought of the LAST DAY makes every man more than poetical by spreading over his mind a general obscurity of sacred horror, that oppresses distinction and disdains expression " (*ibid.*, III., 393). " A general obscurity of sacred horror," reminds us of Boswell's equally turgid expression, in reference to Michael Johnson—" a general sensation of gloomy wretchedness " (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 35)—which was perhaps the Doctor's own.

#### " PHILLIPS'S POEMS."

The *Poems*, of course, would be those of Ambrose Philips. Dr. Guppy tells me that an edition of his *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and other original poems, with translations from Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho*, was published at London in 1710. Johnson quotes Philips's poems in the *Dictionary*.

#### " SMITH'S WORKS."

The *Works* of Edmund Smith [1672-1710] were issued in 1719 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson had a personal interest in Smith, for he learned much of him in conversation with his early Lichfield friend, Gilbert Walmesley (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 20). Smith's tragedy *Phædra and Hippolitus* (1707), and his elegy on his Oxford friend John Philips (1708), are quoted in the *Dictionary*.

#### " BLACKMORE ON THE CREATION."

Sir Richard Blackmore [d. 1729] published his *Creation, a philosophical Poem*, in 1712. In his *Life of Blackmore* Johnson says that this poem " has been by my recommendation inserted in the late collection. Whoever judges of this by any other of Blackmore's performances will do it injury " (*English Poets* ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 242-3). The poem is quoted in the *Dictionary*.

#### " ROW'S CALLIPÆDIA."

Nicholas Rowe [1674-1718], the poet laureate, published his translation of Quillet's *Callipædia* (see *ante*, p. 220) in 1710 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

#### " INSCRIPTION SIGEA

} 2 FOLIO

#### " CHRONOLOGIA PER LLOYD

} PAMPLETS "

Edmund Chishull's *Inscriptio Sigæa* was published in 1721 (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, I., 219, 271 ; also *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Edmund Chishull [1671-1733]). Dr. Guppy tells me that William Lloyd, M.A., son of William Lloyd [1627-1717], Bishop of Worcester, published his *Series chronologica Olympiadum, Pythiadum, Isthmiadum, Nemeadum, quibus Veteres Græci tempora sua metrebantur*, at Oxford, in folio, 1700.

#### " BIBLE."

" It may be questioned whether, except his Bible, he ever read a book entirely

through " (Murphy's *Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson*, 1792, p. 12).

" COM. PRAYER."

" I know of no good prayers but those in the *Book of Common Prayer*" — Johnson, while staying with Dr. Adams at Pembroke College, 11 June 1784 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 293). The *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Church Catechism*, and, of course, the *Bible*, are frequently quoted in the *Dictionary*.

" NELSON ON THE SACRAMENT."

Robert Nelson [1656-1715] published *The great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* in 1707 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

" PITT'S VIDA."

*Vida's Art of Poetry translated into English Verse* by C. Pitt, 1725. In his life of Christopher Pitt [1699-1748], an Oxford man only ten years his senior, Johnson writes:—" He probably about this time [1724] translated *Vida's Art of Poetry*, which Tristram's splendid edition (see *ante*, p. 219) had then made popular. In this translation he distinguished himself, both by its general elegance and by the skilful adaptation of his numbers to the images expressed ; a beauty which *Vida* has with great ardour enforced and exemplified " (*English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 277-8).

" DISPENSARY."

Sir Samuel Garth [1661-1719], a physician of eminence, published his satirical poem *The Dispensary*, in 1699 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Dr. Guppy tells me that three editions appeared in that year ; a 4<sup>th</sup> in 1700 ; a 5<sup>th</sup> in 1703 ; a 6<sup>th</sup> in 1706 and 1709 ; a 7<sup>th</sup> in 1714 ; an 8<sup>th</sup> in 1718 ; a 9<sup>th</sup> in 1726 (all at London) : and a 10<sup>th</sup> in 1730 (at Dublin) ; and that a complete *Key to the Dispensary* was issued in 1726. Johnson quotes the poem in his reply to Soame Jenyns, of 1756 (*Works*, ed. Hawkins, VI., 61) ; and in the *Dictionary*.

" SANCTI MINERVA."

The *Minerva* of Francisco Sanchez, of Salamanca, was published in 1587. There were later editions in 1664 and 1687, and a 4<sup>th</sup>, at Amsterdam, in 1714 (inf. of Dr. Guppy).

" CARMINA QUADRAGESIMALIA."

*Carmina quadragesimalia ad Aedis Christi alumni composita et ad ejusdem baccalaureis determinantibus in schola naturalis philosophiæ publice recitata*, was published at Oxford in 1723 (inf. of Dr. Guppy). See Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1874, pp. 308-9.

" HARRIS ON THE GLOBES."

The Rev. John Harris [1667?-1719] published *The Description and uses of the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes, and of Collins's Pocket Quadrant*, in 1703 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson quotes the book in his *Dictionary*.



"GRATIUS PER JOHNSON."

Thomas Johnson (fl. 1718), the classical scholar, edited *Gratii Falisci Cynegeticon, cum Poematio cognomine M.A. Olympii Nemesiani Carthaginensis*, with other writers on hunting, in 1699 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

"ANACREON PER BAXTER."

William Baxter [1650-1723], nephew of the celebrated Richard Baxter, and previously author of *De Analogia* (see *ante*, p. 220), "made his mark at a bound" in 1695 with his *Anacreon* (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Writing to Boswell, then at Auchinleck, in Feb. 1783, Johnson says:—"When you come hither, pray bring with you Baxter's *Anacreon*. I cannot get that edition in London" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 163). On 2 Nov. 1773 Johnson had inspected the library at Auchinleck and "found here Baxter's *Anacreon*, which he told me he had long enquired for in vain, and began to suspect there was no such book" (*ibid.*, V., 376). It was the memory of this which prompted Johnson's 1783 request to Boswell, who in his reply asked if he should publish a new edition of *Anacreon*, as he found that his father had collated his copy in 1727 with the MS. in the possession of the University of Leyden, and made numerous notes upon it. Johnson's reply, of 30 Sept. 1783, suggests his taking advice on the subject, and remarks:—"Your *Anacreon* is a very uncommon book; neither London nor Cambridge can supply a copy of that edition" (*ibid.*, IV., 241). If Johnson had really forgotten his own possession of Baxter's *Anacreon* at College, it is very remarkable, as his memory for such things was uncommonly tenacious; and I am inclined to think it was only the particular edition that "he had long enquired for in vain." The Cambridge University Librarian informs Mr. Whibley that they have the 1695 ed. of Baxter's *Anacreon*, which came to them in 1715, so that the ed. at Auchinleck was no doubt the corrected ed. which Baxter brought out in 1710.

"RUTILII ITINERARIUM."

There were various editions of *Itinerarium*, the elegiac poem of Rutilius, and we can do no more than guess which Johnson possessed, though Dr. Guppy suggests that of 1687, at Amsterdam, as a likely one.

"SCALIGERI POETICE."

The *Poetice* of Julius Cæsar Scaliger [1484-1558] appeared in 1561, after his death (*Encycl. Brit.*). When Johnson's translation of Pope's *Messiah* appeared in *Husbands's Miscellany*, in 1731 (see *ante*, p. 12), it was headed with a "modest motto from Scaliger's *Poeticks*" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 62). And see *ante*, p. 214. "This book, though continually attacked and defended, long remained the final word on the subject of literary criticism" (P. H. Houston's *Doctor Johnson; A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism*, 1923, p. 9).

It is rather curious that this long list should begin with Scaliger the younger, and end with Scaliger the elder.

## APPENDIX L.\*

## THE REV. JOHN CROMPTON

(See *ante*, pp. 75-8)

THIS schoolmaster-cleric has provided me with rather a pretty conundrum. The Rev. Anthony Blackwall, Head Master of Market Bosworth School, died, as we have seen, on 8 April 1730 (*ante*, p. 77), and Nichols tells us that "Johnson was a short time usher to Mr. Crompton, the successor of Mr. Blackwall" (*ante*, pp. 76-7), Hawkins supporting this statement in his revised edition (*ante*, p. 75). Elsewhere Nichols gives a list of the head masters, from which the following is an extract :—

Rev. Richard Smith, M.A. 1712 ; died 1723.

Rev. Anthony Blackwall, 1723 ; died 1726 (*sic*).

Rev. Mr. Crumpton.

Rev. Mr. Slade ; died 1787.

To Mr. Crumpton's name is the following footnote :—

In July 1732, the celebrated Moralist Dr. Johnson had so little prospect of his future elevation in life, that he occupied the office of usher to Mr. Crumpton at Bosworth School (Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 500).

It struck me to wonder what connexion there was, if any, between this Mr. Crompton (or "Crumpton," as it is pronounced) and the Rev. John Crompton, whose successor as Master of Solihull School Johnson endeavoured to become in August 1735, when his application was turned down on account of his having "the character of being a very haughty, ill-natured gent.," with "such a way of distorting his Face," and "y<sup>e</sup> late master Mr. Crompton's huffing the Fœofees being stil in their memory" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 24 ; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, VI., xlv). The current prospectus of Solihull School gives a list of head masters, from which I extract the following :

1694-1704. John Hunter.

1704-1735. John Crompton.

1735-1769. Rev. Richard Mashiter.

Mr. A. F. Leach, in his account of Solihull Grammar School,

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\* The substance of this appendix was communicated by me in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* for 10 June 1926.

identifies Crompton with John Crompton (or Crumpton), *paup.*, who matric. 7 July 1694 from St. Alban Hall, Oxford; B.A. from Christ Church, 1699; M.A. from St. Alban Hall, 1704. He says that Crompton was head master from 1704, and that "when Crompton died in 1735 after a reign of over thirty years, Samuel Johnson applied for the post" (V. C. H. *Warwickshire*, Vol. II., 1908, p. 359). The Rev. Robert Pemberton, in his *Solihull and Its Church*, pp. 153-5, gives similar information as to the head mastership, and speaks of "the death of Mr. Crompton in 1735." With these statements before me I was considerably puzzled to find the following two biographies in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* :—

**CROMPTON, BURTON.** Adm. pens. (age 18) at Emmanuel, Oct. 11, 1739. Of Solihull, Warws. S. of John, clerk, Master of Market Bosworth School. Schools, Market Bosworth and Eton (Colleger, 1732-8). Matric. 1740-1; B.A. 1743-4. Ord. deacon (Lincoln) May 20, 1744; priest, Dec. 22, 1745. C. at Claybrook for twelve years. Died Jan. 11, 1767, aged 46. M.I. at Claybrook. Will (P.C.C.) 1768. (*Nichols*, IV., 115).

**CROMPTON, WALTER.** Adm. sizar at St. John's, May 26, 1741. S. of John, clerk, of Warws. B. at Solihull. School, Market Bosworth ["Mr. Crompton"—*Admissions to St. John's College*, Part III., ed. R. F. Scott, p. 101]. Matric. 1741; B.A. 1744-5. Ord. deacon (Norwich) May 25, 1746, C. of Marlingford, Norfolk; priest (Lincoln) Feb. 19, 1748-9, C. of Countsthorpe, Linc.

Now it seemed clear from this evidence that both Burton and Walter Crompton were sons of the Rev. John Crompton, some time of Solihull, who later became Head Master of Market Bosworth School. But John Crompton of Solihull was said to have died in 1735, and if so could not be identical with him of Bosworth. Mr. A. W. Read kindly searched the Solihull register for his burial about 1735, but without success, and such records as remain of the School at that time yielded him no information whatever. So I went to Somerset House for his will, and after a search for some years forward it was found :—

JOHN CROMPTON, of Market Bosworth, co. Leic., clerk. Dated 1 June 1747. To my wife *Elizabeth*, all my estate and worldly goods for life, and after her death the estate in poss. of *Edward Phillips*, my tenant, and the house called *Bufferies House*, and a small estate I bought of *Mrs. Archer*, now in poss. of *Matthew Aston*, gardener, to my son *Burton Crompton*, and the estate now in poss. of *Thomas Brockhurst*, called *Broad Oak Farm*, to my son and dau., *Walter*



and *Sarah Crompton*. After wife's death, my goods to be sold, excepting the clock, which I leave to *Burton*, and the money to be divided between "dear *Sally* and *Walter Crompton*." Resid. legatee and extrix., my wife. Signed, *John Crompton*. Wits., *Mr. John Walter*, *Mrs. Mary Walter*, *Mrs. Anne Brooke*. *Francis Deacon*, of Market Bosworth, mercer, and *Joseph Goadby*, of same, tailor, swore 2 Dec. 1751 to handwriting of *Rev. John Crompton*, M.A., decd. Admon. granted 10 Dec. 1751 to *Burton Crompton*, son of decd., *Elizabeth*, wife and resid. legatee, having died in his lifetime [P.C.C., Bushby 330].

This seemed sufficiently convincing evidence that there was only one *Rev. John Crompton* to deal with, and that so far from his having died in 1735 he lived some sixteen years after that date. Mr. Read consulted the Market Bosworth register and found that "*Mrs. Crompton*" was burd. there 23 Mch. 1750/1, and "*Reverend Mr. John Crompton*" on 26 Oct. 1751. And on going back to the Solihull register he found the baptism of "*Burton*, son of *Mr. John Crompton*, Schoolmaster," on 4 July 1721; of "*Sarah*, daughter of *Mr. John Crompton*," on 2 May 1723; and of "*Walter*, son of *Mr. John Crompton*," on 29 May 1724. There was now no room for doubt.

How has it come to be accepted that the *Rev. John Crompton*, Head Master of Solihull School, died in 1735? I can only assume that the letter of Aug. 1735, declining *Johnson's* services and alluding to "the late master *Mr. Crompton*," is responsible for the mistake, and most people reading it would get the impression that he had recently died and so created the vacancy. But a "late master" is not necessarily a dead master—in this case he certainly was not.

There still remained an awkward problem. If *Crompton* succeeded *Anthony Blackwall*, who died in April 1730, at Market Bosworth, and was there during *Johnson's* ushership of 1732, how was it that Solihull was only seeking his successor in 1735? Here again, ancient error had to be dispersed, for local research, kindly made for me by Mr. Read, showed that *Blackwall* was *not* succeeded by *Crompton*, whose appointment was not made until the beginning of 1735. To bridge the gap between the two, we have to introduce a cleric whose connexion with the school has not been known to its historians. In the Subscription Books at the office of the Leicester Archdeaconry, Mr. Read found record, in the course of a long and arduous search, that *John Kilbye*, clerk, M.A., was admitted as School Master to Bosworth and sworn on 28 Sept. 1730, before *John Clayton*, surrogate. In the Bishop's



Transcripts at the same office he found entry of the burial at Market Bosworth, on 4 Aug. 1734, of "The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Killby." Previously he had found there the following most interesting letter endorsed "Nomination of a Master to y<sup>e</sup> free School at Market Bosworth" :—

Rev<sup>d</sup> Sr

The Head Mastership of Bosworth Free School being vacant by y<sup>e</sup> death of M<sup>r</sup> Kilbie & y<sup>e</sup> very great Character I've had of y<sup>u</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Archer & several others obliges me to make y<sup>u</sup> an offer of y<sup>e</sup> same, Its worth in clear money yearly one Hundred & three pounds besides y<sup>e</sup> house & gardens & solely in y<sup>e</sup> nomination of

Sr y<sup>r</sup> Real Friend & Sr<sup>t</sup>

W. DIXIE.

Bost<sup>h</sup> Park

Decem. y<sup>e</sup> 31. 1734.

There is nothing to show to whom the letter was addressed, but the Subscription Books tell us that "John Crompton y<sup>e</sup> Head School-master of the free School in Bosworth" was sworn and subscribed on 14 Jany. 1734/5, before Joseph Kilbye, surrogate to the Vicar-General. There can therefore be no doubt that Sir Wolstan Dixie's letter was actually written to Crompton, who immediately accepted the offer. Perhaps it was this sudden acceptance of a better post which "huffed the feoffees" of Solihull School. "Mr. Archer" was perhaps Andrew Archer, father of Thomas, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Archer, and long M.P. for Warwickshire, whose seat of Umberslade was only half-a-dozen miles from Solihull. Andrew Archer was Lord of the Manor of Solihull 1689-1741, and is said to have had a finger in every pie there. It will be noticed in Crompton's will of 1747 that he had bought a small estate of one "Mrs. Archer" (*ante*, p. 231).

It is now quite clear that Johnson, when usher at Market Bosworth in 1732, was not under Crompton but Kilby. John, son of Joseph Kilby, of Leicester town, *pauper puer*, matric. 2 June 1685, aged 18, from Lincoln Coll., Oxford; took his B.A. on 7 Mch 1688/9; and was Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester, from 1702 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*) to 1729. Mr. Read has found from the Subscription Books that John Kilby, B.A., was admitted under-schoolmaster of Leicester Free School on 28 Jany. 1689/90, and sworn before William Fox, surrogate.

Nichols, in an account of Styan Thirlby [1692-1753],\* the critic and theologian, says that he was educated at Leicester Free School, "under the more immediate tuition of the Rev. John Kilby, at that period the head usher" (*Literary Anecdotes*, IV., 264), and quotes a story supplied to him by Dr. Johnson, of which the original MS. is still in existence :—

This ["a Greek copy of verses 'On the Queen of Sheba's Visit to Solomon'"] was an exercise written by him, at the school of the Rev. Mr. Kilby of Leicester, who preserved it, and by whom his proficiency was praised as very quick. *He went through my school*, said Mr. Kilby, *in three years*, and his self-conceit was censured as very offensive. *He thought he knew more than all the school. Perhaps*, said a gentlewoman to whom this was told, *he thought rightly*.

Johnson prefaces his anecdotes with the remark :—"What I can tell of Thirlby, I had from those who knew him. I never saw him myself" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 430). We may now conclude that he got most of his information direct from Kilby, while serving under him at Market Bosworth.

It is to be noted that the brother poets, William Shenstone [1714-63] and Richard Jago [1715-81], were pupils of Crompton at Solihull, and that the former did not matric. from Pembroke Coll., Oxford, until 25 May 1732, and the latter from University Coll., Oxford, until 30 Oct. 1732. Jago, in his poem "Edgehill" (1767), describes Crompton as a "pedagogue morose," wielding a "birchen sceptre, stained with infant gore." If Crompton had really gone to Bosworth in 1730 to succeed Blackwall, these dates would not have seemed quite appropriate. In his life of Shenstone, Johnson says that he went "for a while" to Hales Owen Grammar School, "and was placed afterwards with Mr. Crompton, an eminent school-master at Solihull, where he distinguished himself by the quickness of his progress" (*Johnson's Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 349).

The following abstract of the will of Crompton's elder son, who,

\* The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* says he was born "about 1686," but Nichols says "about the year 1692." Mr. Read sends me the baptism of "Styan, y<sup>e</sup> son of Tho. Thirlby, Vicar," at St. Margaret's, Leicester, on 7 Jan. 1691/2; and the burial of "Thomas Thirlby, Vicar," on 18 Feb. 1701/2. John Kilby was thus the immediate successor of Styan Thirlby's father at St. Margaret's.

Mr. Read tells me, was curate of Market Bosworth in 1746, throws a little more light on the family :—

BURTON CROMPTON, of Little Claybrooke, co. Leic., clerk. Dated 9 Nov. 1764. All my messuages and lands in Melton Mowbray, co. Leic., to *Holled Smith*, of Lutterworth, co. Leic., gent., and *Thomas Maior*, of Blayby, gent., to sell same for benefit of wife *Mary* for life, and after her death the same and my messuages and lands at Solyhull to nephew *John*, son of my late sister *Sarah Winfield*, decd., and his issue, in default to *Richard*, son of *John Walter*, of Birmingham, gent., and his heirs and assigns for ever. Resid. legatee and extrix., wife *Mary*. Signed, *Burton Crompton*. Wits., *Eliz. Hutchinson*, *Richd. Andrews*, *Sarah Fullford*. Admon. granted 4 Nov. 1768 to *Edward Stokes*, junr., *Ann Gilbert* and *Frances Stokes*, spinsters, extrices. of will of *Mary Crompton*, widow, decd., who died before proving said will. [P. C. C. Secker, 403.]

Mary, the widow, dau. of Simon Stokes, of Hinckley, gent., died 12 Apl. 1767, aged 37 (*Nichols's Leicestershire*, IV., 115). It is curious that Holled Smith, one of the trustees, was grand-nephew to Mrs. Johnson, his father, Knightley Smith, having married her niece, Darell Jervis (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 236).

As throwing light upon Johnson's term as usher at Market Bosworth (see *ante*, p. 75), the following letter, which Mr. Read found in the Archdeaconry Office at Leicester, has considerable interest :—

Mr. Adderley.

If y<sup>r</sup> pleas to except of y<sup>e</sup> place of Usher or Assistant to Bosworth Schole its at y<sup>r</sup> service

& I'm y<sup>r</sup> Humble

Ser<sup>t</sup>

W. DIXIE  
Bos<sup>th</sup> Park

Octo<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1733.

It is addressed "To | The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Adderley Rec<sup>t</sup> | of Cadeby | In Leicestershire." The Subscription Books record that "Tho. Adderley Usher of The free school in Market Bosworth" was sworn and admitted before "Jos. Kilbye," surrogate, on 27 Oct. 1733, so that Sir Wolstan's offer received instant acceptance. Thomas Adderley, born at Chelsea, was admitted pensioner at Clare Coll., Camb., 22 June 1699; matric. 1699; B.A. 1702/3. Ord. priest, at Lincoln, 30 May 1708; curate of Tydd St. Mary, Lincs.; Rector of Cadeby, Leic., 1719; died May 1736, aged 54 (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

Admon. of the estate of Thomas Adderley, clerk, Rector of Cadeby, decd., was granted 28 Mch. 1741, at Leicester: he left a widow Frances, and children Thomas, Edward, John and Frances. Cadeby is only a mile and a half from Bosworth, so that geographically he was not prevented from serving the two offices.

Mr. Read's researches enable me to give the following account of the Rev. John Kilby and his family:—

**JOSEPH KILBY**, of Leicester, cordwainer; as son of Ann Kilbye, of Syston, co. Leic., widow, apprenticed 16 May 1646 to Nathaniel Churchman, of Leicester, cordwainer, as from 1 May, and made free 17 May 1656; mard. 5 July 1656, at St. Martin's, Leicester, to Hannah Stretton, who was burd. 16 Jany. 1691/2, at St. Martin's (as "wife" of Joseph Kilby), having had issue,

- A. Elizabeth Kilby, bapt. 17 Jany. 1657/8 at St. Martin's, Leicester.
- B. Joseph Kilby, born 1 Dec. 1660, bapt. at St. Martin's, Leicester; admitted free of Leicester, 21 June 1682, as eldest son of Joseph.
- C. **JOHN KILBY**, bapt. 12 May 1667 at St. Martin's, Leicester; matric. 2 June 1685, aged 18, from Lincoln Coll., Oxford; B.A. 7 Mch. 1688 9; admitted under-schoolmaster of Leicester Free School, 28 Jany. 1689/90; admitted free of Leicester, 17 Sept. 1691, as clerk, and second son of Joseph; ord. deacon 9 May 1690, church at Belgrave and Burstall, co. Leic.; admitted curate of Segrave, co. Leic. 20 May 1700, under Rev. John Rogers, Rector; Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester, from 1701 to 1729; Rector of Willoughby Waterless, co. Leic., from 29 Aug. 1724; admitted schoolmaster of Market Bosworth, 28 Sept. 1730; Vicar of Knighton, co. Leic., 9 Oct. 1730; burd. 4 Aug. 1734 at Market Bosworth. He mard. 26 Mch. 1691, at Evington, co. Leic., Mary (bapt. 13 July 1665 at St. Mary's, Leicester), dau. of Richard Mawson, of St. Mary's, Leicester, gent., "Governor of the Magazine" (and sister of Hannah Mawson, who mard. 1711 Rev. Humphrey Clayton, of Medbourne, co. Leic.); she died 24 Feb. 1720, aged 55, and was burd. at St. Margaret's, Leicester, where there is (or was) a mural tablet to her memory, having had issue,
  - a. Mary Kilby, bapt. 5 Dec. 1693 at St. Martin's, Leicester.
  - b. Hannah Kilby, bapt. 26 Oct. 1695 and burd. 5 Nov. 1695 at St. Martin's, Leicester.
  - c. Joseph Kilby, bapt. 23 Dec. 1696 at St. Martin's, Leicester; admitted sizar at Emmanuel Coll., Camb., 29 June 1715, after educ. at Derby School under Anthony Blackwall (where he was in 1711—see B. Tachella's *Derby School Register*, 1902, p. 10); matric. 1716; B.A.



1718/19; Dixie Fellow, 1724; ord. deacon, at Lincoln, 24 May 1719, priest 4 June 1721; Vicar of Evington, co. Leic., 1734-8; Vicar of Knighton, Leic., 1734-8 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*); Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester, 1729-38, succeeding his father. Mr. Read tells me he was admitted free of Leicester, 6 July 1716, as "first son" of Rev. John, licensed to curacy of St. Margaret's, Leicester, 25 May 1719, under his father; succeeded his father as Vicar of Knighton (which was a chapelry under St. Margaret's), 23 July 1734; Vicar of Evington, 21 July 1734.

d. Hannah Kilby, bapt. 17 Apl. 1699 at St. Mary's, Leicester.

e. John Kilby, bapt. 17 July 1701 at St. Mary's, Leicester.

The Rev. Francis Peck mentions "Mr. Kilby" in a letter from Goadby, dated 27 June 1734 (Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, V., 354). Goadby is not far from Evington and Knighton, so that the reference is probably to John or Joseph.

## APPENDIX M. THE ASTON FAMILY

(See *ante*, p. 86)

THE Astons of Lichfield were associated with Johnson throughout almost the whole of his adult life, and extended to him much kindness, which was warmly reciprocated. An accurate account of them, for the benefit of editors and annotators, is long overdue, and I have been to considerable trouble to prepare the following pedigree, with its numerous references to Johnsonian and other interesting associations. I have gone back a few generations and begun with that John Offley, of Madeley Manor, to whom Izaak Walton in friendship dedicated his *Compleat Angler*, showing how by a common descent from him the Misses Aston were cousins, in a not very remote degree, to Lawrence Offley, who was one of Johnson's little band of pupils at Edial, and to Lord Kilmorey, the nobleman whose hospitality on the Welsh Tour was rewarded with such severe strictures from the two diarists. Much

more of a surprise it is to find that Topham Beauclerk's mother was first cousin to the Misses Aston ; while another first cousin was married to Sir Wolstan Dixie, of Market Bosworth fame. A fact which must have made these relationships more apparent to the persons mentioned was that Mrs. Offley, of Madeley Manor, the common mother of them all, did not die till 1718, aged 95.

My authorities for the Offley and Crewe portion of the pedigree, apart from the wills and admons. mentioned, are as follows :—

*The Compleat Angler*, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton, ed. Rd. Le Gallienne, 1897, pp. 3, 394 (re John Offley) : Joseph Foster's *London Marriage Licences*, 1887 (under John Offley) ; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (under Offley) ; *Wm. Salt Arch. Soc.*, " Staffordshire Collections," Vol. V., pt. 2, p. 226 (Offley pedigree), and N.S. Vol. XI., p. 93 (for Bagot-Broughton connexion) : Burke's *Peerage* (under " Broughton, Bart." ) ; Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* (where the John Offleys, father and son, are confused) ; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, III., 302-3 (Crewe and Offley monuments), I., 727 (Offley monuments), and II., 249 (Crewe of Utkinton ped.) ; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (under Laurence Offley) ; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 303 (Crewe ped.) ; G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage* (under Kilmorey) ; Burke's *Landed Gentry* (under " Lane of Bentley " ) ; *Harleian Soc.*, vol. 63, pp. 152, 177 (Offley ped.) ; and *Lancs. and Cheshire Record Soc.*, vol. 65, p. 123, vol. 69, p. 238 (Chester marriage licences).

The authorities for the Aston portion, apart from the references given therein, the wills and admons. mentioned, and two or three extracts from the registers of Pensax and Shelsley Beauchamp, make a much more formidable list :—

Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, I., 725-7 (Aston ped.) ; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (under John Aston, Thomas Aston, Sir Willoughby Aston and Henry Harvey) ; *Harleian Soc.*, XLIV., 62, " Musgrave's Obituary " (under Aston) ; Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies* (under " Aston of Aston " and " Williams of Gwernevet " ) ; Burke's *Peerage* (under " Combermere," " Gormanston," and " Hervey Bruce " ) ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (under Sir Richard Aston, Sir Thomas Aston, Ambrose Dawson, Hugh Chamberlen, Topham Beauclerk, Robert Plampin, and David Brodie) ; Burke's *Landed Gentry* (under " Brock of Pensax "—for Clutton ; " Norreys of Davyhulme Hall " ; " Legh of Norbury Booths Hall " ; " Dawson of Langcliff Hall " ; and " Pye of Farringdon " ) ; Joseph Foster's *London Marriage Licences*, 1887 (under Crewe and Aston) ; J. P. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, II., 354 (Wright ped.) ; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 498, 507 (Dixie-Wright connexion) ; Phillimore's *London Parish Registers*, " St. James', Duke Place," III., 41 (Aston = Lewin) ; *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, vol. 2, pp. 210-12 (where are given extracts from Family Bible recording all 21 children of Sir Willoughby Aston and Mary Offley, with names of

god-parents, and other dates) ; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1733, p. 156 ; 1736, pp. 167, 231, 424, 684 ; 1737, p. 316 ; 1744, pp. 108, 281 ; 1748, pp. 42, 525 ; 1751, p. 380 ; 1752, p. 240 ; 1753, pp. 200, 296 ; 1756, p. 595 ; 1758, p. 244 ; 1774, p. 237 ; 1786, p. 82 ; 1787, p. 742 ; 1791, p. 1159 (marriages and deaths of Astons and their connexions) ; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (under Henry Hervey, John Clutton and Sidney Beauclerk) ; *Notes and Queries*, 12<sup>th</sup> Series, VII., 296, 333 (re Rev. Francis Gastrell) ; *Genealogy of Brodie Family*, by Wm. Brodie, 1862 (re David Brodie, R.N., and his connexions) ; *Suffolk Green Books*, by Rev. S. H. A. Hervey, Vols. XIV., pp. xlix-lv, and XVI. (2), pp. 329-32 (re Hon. Henry [Hervey] Aston, whose portrait is reproduced at second reference. I am also indebted to Mr. Hervey for information privately given) ; *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. Lady Llanover, 1861, Vol I., pp. 104, 146, 168, 170, 179, 181, 186, 188-9, 191-3, 195-7, 201, 217 (re Hon. Henry [Hervey] Aston) ; and *Lancs. and Cheshire Record Soc.*, vol. 77, pp. 108, 117 (Chester marriage licences).

Having thus gained the complete confidence of my readers, I will proceed to give the whole resultant pedigree :—

**JOHN OFFLEY**, of Madeley Manor, co. Staffs., eldest son and heir of Sir John Offley, of Madeley, Knt., M.P. for Stafford ; born at " Thistleworth," co. M'sex. ; matric. 16 Oct. 1635, aged 16, from Trinity Coll., Oxford ; student of Middle Temple, 1638 ; succeeded his father in June 1647. Izaak Walton dedicated his *Compleat Angler*, in 1653, " To the Right Worshipful John Offley of Madeley Manor, in the County of Stafford, Esq. My most honoured friend." He died in 1658, and admon. of the estate of John Offley, of Madeley Manor, Esq., was granted 27 Oct. 1658, in P.C.C., to Mary, the relict. He mard., 1<sup>st</sup>, Dorothy, dau. of Sir. John Lytcott, of Molesey, Surrey, Knt., by lic. dated 13 July 1641 ; she died without issue. He mard., 2<sup>nd</sup>, Mary, dau. of Thomas Broughton, of Broughton, co. Staffs., by Frances his wife, dau. of Walter Bagot, of Blithfield, co. Staffs., and sister of Sir Hervey Bagot, 1<sup>st</sup> bart. ; she was born 13 Dec. 1622, died at Offerton 18 May 1718, aged 95, at the house of her grand-dau. Purefoy [Aston], wife of Henry Wright, and was burd. at Aston, having had issue by John Offley,

- I. John Offley, of Madeley Manor ; aged 13 on 6 Apl. 1663 ; matric. 28 Mch. 1667, aged 16, from Christ Church, Oxford ; died 1684 ;\* burd. at Barthomley, Cheshire. He mard. Anne, eldest dau. and eventual sole heir of John Crewe, of Crewe, Cheshire, by Carew his wife, dau. of Sir Arthur Gorge, of Chelsea, co. M'sex, Knt. She was born Sept. 1649 in Queen Street, London ; mard. 24 Apl. 1679 (lic. dated 7 Apl. 1679) at Utkinton, Cheshire ; died 15 May 1711, near St. James,' and was burd. at Barthomley. In 1708 she

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\* According to " Staffordshire Pedigrees" (*Harleian Soc.*, vol. 63, p. 177), he was " committed Prisoner to y<sup>e</sup> Tower circ. Sept. 1685."

obtained an Act of Parliament, enabling her and her son John to change their names to Crewe. She had issue,

1. John Offley, of Crewe, who changed his name to Crewe (as above) in 1708; born 1681; M.P. for Cheshire, 1702, 1707, 1708 and 1722; died 26 Aug. 1749, aged 68; burd. at Barthomley. He mard. in 1707, at Mayfair Chapel, London, Sarah Price, who died 8 May 1751, aged 69, and was burd. at Barthomley. From them descends Lord Crewe.
2. Crewe Offley, succeeded to manor of Wichnor, co. Staffs., purchased by his mother, and built Wichnor Hall; M.P. for Bewdley, 1727 and 1729; Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. "Crewe Offley, of Wichnor Park, Esq.," appointed a trustee of the Tutbury charity of Johnson's godfather, Richard Wakefield, under his will of 15 Aug. 1733 (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 227). He died 28 Jany. 1739; mard. Margaret, dau. of Sir Thomas Lawrence, of Chelsea, bart., who died about 1727. The will of Crewe Offley, of "Whichnor," co. Staffs., Esq., dated 18 May 1739, with codicils of same date and 22 May, was proved 19 July 1739 in P.C.C. [Henchman 160]. He had issue by Margaret Lawrence,
  - (1) John Offley, of Wichnor, which he sold in 1765 to John Levett [1721-99], who treated Johnson with so much kindness (see *ante*, III., 176; IV., 188, 190). John Offley died unmard., 3 Apl. 1784, aged 66.
  - (2) Lawrence Offley, of Wichnor, the "Mr. Offely, a young gentleman of good fortune who died early," who, with David and George Garrick, was Johnson's pupil at Edial in 1735-6 (see Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 97; Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 36). Admitted a fellow-commoner of Clare Coll., Camb., on 11 Nov. 1736; matric. 1737. He and his brother were members of a club called "The Court of Truth," which met weekly at the George Tavern, in Lichfield, as the minutes record:—"At a Court held 1<sup>st</sup> December 1739 John Offley Esquire and Mr. Lawrence Offley were admitted Brothers on the Recommendation of severall worthy Members. And they paid 5s. apeice to the Lord Cheif for the grand night" (*A Glimpse of Club Life in Lichfield, England*, 1735-40, privately printed by R. B. Adam, Buffalo, 1924, p. 18). Died unmard. 1749, aged 30. Admon. granted 2 Nov. 1749, in P.C.C., to John Offley, Esq., the brother and next-of-kin.
1. Mary Offley, mard. 19 Aug. 1701 at the Chapel of Crewe Hall, when "Miss Betty Aston" (see *post*, p. 244) was a bridesmaid (Edward Hinchliffe's *Barthomley*, 1856, pp. 335-6), Robert Needham [1683-1710], 7<sup>th</sup> Viscount Kilmorey, and died at Windsor, Berks., in 1765, aged 80. Her son John Needham [1711-91], who succeeded his



brother in 1768, as 10<sup>th</sup> Viscount, was the Lord Kilmorey whom Johnson visited, without being impressed, on 23 July 1774, on the journey into North Wales, at Shavington Hall, Shropshire (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 433; *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 351). Mrs. Thrale was even more disgusted than Johnson with his lordship (A. M. Broadley's *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, 1910, pp. 177-8). At another reference she tells us that on that rapturous evening which Johnson spent with Molly Aston (see *post*, p. 249), they were not "tête-à-tête, but in a select company, of which the present Lord Killmorey was one" (Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1786, p. 157). This pedigree shows Lord Kilmorey to have been second cousin to Molly Aston.

- II. Thomas Offley, aged 12 on 6 Apl. 1663; matric. 5 May 1668, aged 16, from Christ Church, Oxford; mard. Frances, dau. of Col. John Lane, of Bentley, co. Staffs. Probably the "Tho: Offley, Esq<sup>r</sup> decd.," whose five young sons were boarding at a house in Bird Street, Lichfield, in 1695; three of them went on to Oxford (see *ante*, III., 134).
- I. MARY OFFLEY, of whom on next line.

**MARY OFFLEY**, only dau. of John Offley, preceding, of Madeley Manor, by Mary his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, dau. of Thomas Broughton, was born 3 Feb. 1649/50, mard. (lic. 7 Sept. 1664) 10 Sept. 1664 (aged only 14 years and 7 months) to Sir Willoughby Aston, 2<sup>nd</sup> bart., of Aston, Cheshire, died 22 Jan. 1711/12, and was burd. at Aston. Sir Willoughby, born 5 July 1640, at Riseley, co. Derby, son of Sir Thomas Aston [1600-45], 1<sup>st</sup> bart., the devoted Royalist, was educated at Nuneaton School, co. Warwick, and admitted a fellow-commoner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 5 July 1656, aged 16; admitted at Middle Temple, 4 Nov. 1659; Sheriff of Cheshire, 1680-81 and 1690-91; died 14 Dec. 1702; burd. at Aston. They had 21 children, of whom four were born while the mother was under 20,

- I. SIR THOMAS ASTON, born 17 Jan., 1665/6, of whom presently.
- II. John Aston, born Sunday 4 Oct. 1668, at Madeley, about 11-50 a.m.; educ. at Weston school, nr. Nantwich; admitted pensioner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 3 Feb. 1685/6, aged 17; admitted at Inner Temple, 26 Nov. 1686; Capt. R.N.; died 9 Oct. 1710, without issue.
- III. Willoughby Aston, born Sunday 19 Sept. 1669, about 6-30 a.m.; mard. Elizabeth Lewin, spinster, of St. Paul, Covent Garden, on 6 Oct. 1691, at St. James', Duke Place, London, and had two daus., Maria and Elizabeth. His widow Elizabeth died 20 Feb. 1730.
- IV. Arthur Aston, born Friday 31 Mch. 1671, about 9 a.m.; died at Constantinople, leaving certainly no male issue.
- V. Gilbert Aston, born 3 May 1674; died 20 May 1676.
- VI. Richard Aston, born Tuesday 17 Aug. 1675 at 5 p.m.; of Wadley, co.

Berks. ; died 23 Nov. 1741 ; mard. 25 Aug. 1709 to Elizabeth, dau. of John and Isabel Warren, of co. Oxford ; she was born 26 Oct. 1673, bapt. 2 Nov. 1673, and died 10 July 1745 at Wadley, having had issue,

1. Willoughby Aston, born Thursday 18 Feb. 1713/14, about 8-15 p.m., in Bennet Street, and registered at St. Martin's, London ; succeeded his first cousin, Sir Thomas Aston, as 5<sup>th</sup> bart., in Feb. 1743/4 (see *post*, p. 255) ; M.P. for Nottingham, 1754 ; Col. Berks. Militia 1759 ; died 24 Aug. 1772, and was burd. 27 Aug. 1772 at Bath Abbey Church (*Harl. Soc.*, Register Section, vol. 28, p. 458). Sir Willoughby Aston was for a time neighbour to Dr. Burney, in Poland Street, London, and his daus. went to school in Paris with Dr. Burney's daus. Hetty and Susan (*Early Diary of Frances Burney*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis, 1907, I., 6). He mard. 14 May 1744, Elizabeth, dau. of Henry Pye, of Faringdon, Berks. (then "Miss Betty Pye, of Red-lion-square"), by Anne his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, sister of Allen, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Bathurst, and had issue,
  - (1) Sir Willoughby Aston, 6<sup>th</sup> and last bart. ; mard. Lady Jane Henley, dau. of Robert, Earl of Northington, and died without issue, 22 Mch. 1815. On an occasion in May 1781, in company with his friend Lord Cholmondeley, he lost heavily in play, at Brooks's Club, to Charles James Fox (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, XI., 441).
  - (1) Elizabeth Aston, mard. Rowland Cotton, Admiral R.N., who died 3 Nov. 1794, second son of Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, 4<sup>th</sup> bart., and died 1795 (Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, III., 415), leaving issue. On 3 Dec. 1772 Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale, from Lichfield, that "Miss Aston claims kin to you, for she says she is somehow a-kin to the Cottons" (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 201). I presume that it was through this marriage, of which, however, I have not the date. Miss Aston was first-cousin-once-removed to Mrs. Cotton, whose husband the Admiral was first cousin to Mrs. Thrale. Johnson met Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton on the tour into North Wales in 1774 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 433-4 ; A. M. Broadley's *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, 1910, pp. 176, 180).
  - (2) Purefoy Aston, mard. 23 Apl. 1774 Hon. James Preston (died 25 Apl. 1823), 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Jenico, 10<sup>th</sup> Viscount Gormanston, had issue, and died Mch. 1792.
  - (3) Mary Aston, mard. Francis Grant Gordon, Capt. R.N., and was living 31 May 1790.
  - (4) Selina Aston, died unmard. in 1764.
  - (5) Belinda Aston, died unmard.

(6) Sophia Aston, mar. — Pritchard, and was living 31 May 1790.

2. Sir Richard Aston, born in St. James' Street, London, on Wednesday, 16 Jany. 1716/17, about 8 p.m.; bapt 23 Jany. and registered in par. of St. James', Westminster; K.C. 1759; Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas in Ireland 1761; Justice of King's Bench in England, and knighted, 1765; member of court which declared faulty the writ of outlawry against John Wilkes, 1768; died 1 Mch. 1778. He mard. 1<sup>st</sup>, 26 Jany. 1748 (as "Rich. Aston of Crawford, Kent, Esq."), "Miss Eldred of the Haymarket," and 2<sup>nd</sup>, 24 May 1758, Rebecca, dau. of Dr. Rowland, of Aylesbury, and widow of Sir David Williams, 6<sup>th</sup> Bart. ("20000*l.* besides a large jointure").
1. Elizabeth Aston, born Friday 2 June 1710, about 10-15 a.m., in Bloomsbury Square; registered at St. Giles' in the Fields; died unmard. in Duke Street, Manchester Square.
2. Mary Aston, born Saturday 22 Nov. 1712, about 9 p.m., at Madeley, and registered there; mard. 1742 Ambrose Dawson [1707-94], M.D., a physician of eminence, of Langcliff Hall, Yorks., and died 4 Aug. 1799, leaving issue.

VII. Robert Aston, of London, merchant; born Saturday 5 June 1686, about 7-30 p.m.

VIII. Edward Aston, born Sunday 24 June 1688, about 1 p.m.; died 23 May 1693.

- I. Mary Aston, born Monday 15 July 1667, near 5 p.m.; mard. 1<sup>st</sup> (by lic. dated 24 May 1698, for Aston Chapel), Sir John Crewe, of Utkinton, Cheshire, Knt., widower, whose father, John Crewe, was a brother of Sir Clippesby Crewe, whose son John Crewe mard. Carew Gorge (see *ante*, p. 239). Sir John, born at Utkinton, and bapt. 31 May 1641 at Tarporley, died 19 May 1711, at Utkinton, without issue. His widow became the third wife of Hugh Chamberlen [1664-1728], M.A., M.D., of Covent Garden, a physician of some distinction, and died suddenly, in London, on 6 Apl. 1734, being burd. 19 Apl. 1734 at Tarporley, by her first husband.
- II. Magdalen Aston, born Easter Day, 7 Apl. 1672, at 12 noon; mard. (lic. 24 Dec. 1695, for Aston) Thomas Norreys [born 1653], of Speke, co. Lancs., M.P. for Liverpool, and High Sheriff of Lancs. 1696. She died 30 Aug. 1709, leaving an only dau. and heir,

Mary Norreys, born 22 Mch. 1700, mard. 9 Nov. 1736 ("worth 60,000*l.*") Lord Sydney Beauclerk [1703-44], 5<sup>th</sup> son of Charles, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of St. Albans, who matric. 4 Dec. 1721, aged 18, from Trinity Coll., Oxford; created M.A. 25 Oct. 1727; D.C.L. 6 July 1733; M.P. Windsor 1730-44; Vice-Chamberlain to King; P.C. 1740. Johnson knew Lady Sydney Beauclerk, for at Col. in 1773,

he related an incident of being out driving with her, in London, in company with her son and Bennet Langton. "She had no notion of a joke, Sir; had come late into life, and had a mighty unpliant understanding" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 295-6). The will of Lady Mary (commonly called Lady Sidney) Beauclerk, of St. George's, Hanover Square, co. M'sex, widow, dated 12 June 1766, was proved 6 Dec. 1766, in P.C.C. [Tyndall 440]. She leaves her manor or lordship of Speake, in par. of Childwall, co. Lancs., and Speake Hall, in trust for her only son, Topham Beauclerk, whom she desires to take and use the name of Norris, by Act of Parliament; but he does not seem to have done so. She had issue an only child,

Topham Beauclerk [1739-80], the friend of Johnson, who made his acquaintance at Oxford in 1759, through Bennet Langton (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 248). It is nowhere suggested that Beauclerk was son of Molly Aston's first cousin, and the fact was quite unknown even to Dr. Birkbeck Hill (see his *Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, 1878, pp. 280-318, "Topham Beauclerk"), but it is unbelievable that Johnson did not discover it, from the Astons if not from Beauclerk himself.

- III. Frances Aston, born Thursday 3 Apl. 1673; died 10 Mch. 1677.
- IV. Elizabeth Aston, born Saturday 2 Dec. 1676 at 8-30 a.m.; died unmard. 26 Mch. 1756. The "Miss Betty Aston" of 1701 (see *ante*, p. 240).
- V. Christian Aston, born Xmas Day Tuesday 1677; died 30 Jany. 1677/8.
- VI. Charlotte Aston, born Monday 22 Sept. 1679, at 7-30 a.m.; mard. (lic. 22 Feb. 1695/6, for Croston) John Pickering, of Thelwall, Cheshire, gent.
- VII. Dorothy Aston, born Saturday 25 June 1681, about 9 a.m.
- VIII. Anne Aston, born Tuesday 8 Aug. 1682, about 9 p.m.; died 9 Mch. 1688/9.
- IX. Bridget Aston, born Tuesday 13 Nov. 1683, between 9 and 10 a.m.; died 20 Sept. 1685.
- X. Katherine Aston, born Thursday 12 Mch. 1684/5, about 5-15 a.m.; died unmard.
- XI. Purefoy Aston, born Saturday 22 Mch. 1691, about 9 a.m.; mard. 22 Nov. 1712 Henry Wright, of Mobberley, Cheshire, who was born 17 Feb., bapt. 25 Feb. 1688/9 at Mobberley, died 12 Oct. 1744, and burd. at Mobberley. She died 30 Jany. 1768, and was burd. at Mobberley, leaving, with other issue, a second dau., Theodosia Wright, bapt. 30 Mch. 1715 at Mobberley; mard. 26 Dec.



1741, as his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, Sir Wolstan Dixie [1701 ?-67], 4<sup>th</sup> bart., in whose house, while usher at Market Bosworth school in 1732, Johnson suffered "such complicated misery" (see *ante*, p. 79). She died 14 July 1751, leaving issue, and was burd. at Mobberley.

XII. Helena Aston, born Wednesday 13 May 1691, before 1 a.m.; mard. Thomas Pennington (son of Thomas Pennington, of Chester, by Ruth his wife, dau. of Peter Legh, of Booths), who inherited his mother's estate of Norbury Booths, near Knutsford, Cheshire, became Thomas Pennington Legh, and left issue.

XIII. Letitia Aston, born Sunday 5 Nov. 1693 before 5 a.m.; mard. — Jenks.

**SIR THOMAS ASTON**, eldest son of Sir Willoughby Aston and Mary Offley preceding, born 17 Jany. 1665/6, about 3-50 a.m., at Madeley; ed. Weston school, nr. Nantwich; admitted a fellow commoner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 12 May 1684, aged 18; matric. 1684; succeeded his father as 3<sup>d</sup> bart. in 1702; died 16 Jany. 1724/5; burd. at Aston. Mard. Katherine [born Nov. 1676], dau. and coheir of William Widdrington; lic. issued 22 Oct. 1703 for marr. at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, he of St. James', Westminster, and she of St. Martin's. She died 10 Apl. 1752, and was burd. at Aston. The will of Sir Thomas Aston, of Aston, Cheshire, bart., dated 26 Feb. 1722/3, with codicil of 17 July 1723, was proved 8 Dec. 1725 in P.C.C. [Romney 241] by his widow Katherine: he does not mention his children by name, and the will has no biographical interest. The will of Dame Katherine Aston, of Aston, Cheshire, widow, relict of Sir Thomas, dated 1 June 1750, was proved 16 May 1752 in P.C.C. [Bettesworth 115], by the five extrixes., her daus. Mary, Elizabeth, Jane, Sophia and Margaret Aston, to whom she bequeaths her furniture. Her eldest dau. Katherine is to have nothing, as she has become entitled to her father's real estate. To Gilbert Walmsley, of Lichfield, Esq., and his wife Magdalene, she leaves £100; to her dau. Ann Clutton, £100; and to Anne's son, John Clutton, the younger, £1000 at 21. Sir Thomas Aston had issue by her,

I. SIR THOMAS ASTON, of whom presently.

I. Catherine Aston, mard. Mch. 1730 to the Hon. Henry Hervey, 4<sup>th</sup> son of John, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Bristol. He was born Sunday 5 Jany. 1700/1, at 8 a.m.; ed. Westminster School; matric. 8 June 1719, aged 17, from Christ Church, Oxford, but took no degree; on 11 Apl. 1721 "broke both the bones of his left legg by jumping over a hedg & ditch at Oxford." Entered Army, and became a cornet of dragoons, in The King's Own Regiment of Horse (Kerr's Dragoons), Mch. 1726/7; Captain 21 Dec. 1738; ordained priest at Ely, Sept. 1743; admitted to Caius Coll., Camb., Oct. 1743; M.A. 1744; presented to rectory of Shotley, co. Suffolk, by his father, on 30 Sept. 1743, but never resided; in 1744 presented silver gilt communion cups, patens and alms dishes, to Shotley, and rebuilt chancel in 1745; in 1745 chosen

to preach the sermon (afterwards printed), in St. Paul's Cathedral, at the annual feast of the Sons of the Clergy ; died 16 Nov. 1748. He met his wife while quartered with his regiment at Lichfield. On the death of her only brother, Sir Thomas Aston, in 1744, she succeeded to the Aston estates (" of 4000*l.* *per Ann.*"), and her husband changed his name by Act of Parliament to Aston, becoming the Rev. and Hon. Henry Aston, though he seems sometimes to have been called Hervey-Aston. The will of Henry Aston, of Cavendish Square, co. M'sex, clerk, dated 6 Aug. 1748, was proved 25 Nov. 1748 in P.C.C. [Strahan 317], by Catherine the widow, to whom he had bequeathed his coach and chariot, plate, pictures, prints, and household goods and furniture, as well as the guardianship of all his children (unnamed) till 21. To his bror., the Hon. and Rev. Charles Hervey, he left all his sermons, and to his nephew, the Hon. Augustus John Hervey, his crystal ring set in imitation of a compass ; to John Crawley, of co. Beds., Esq., his MS. book of Miscellaneous Poems bound in red Turkey leather ; to the Chapel of Aston, in Cheshire, the communion plate, bible and prayer books then in the hands of his agent, Mr. James Tomkinson, of Nantwich ; and to his son Henry, at 21, his gold chased watch chain and seals, and all his rings, buckles, buttons and jewels. His widow's subsequent history has not been traced, though apparently she is the " Mrs. Hervey, blind," referred to in Johnson's letter of 22 Oct. 1777 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 49), and perhaps the " Mrs. Harvey " of 4 May 1779 (*ibid.*, II., 91). The Hervey family still possess two of his MS. volumes ; one, " Hervey's Miscellanies," containing over 50 short poems written before his marriage, is humbly dedicated to Mrs. Kitty Aston in Cheshire. In 1737 his " beggarly project of printing by subscription his collection of poems," excited the disgust of his father, who thought he might as well have begged alms at the church door.

" He was a vicious man, but very kind to me. If you call a dog HERVEY, I shall love him," said Johnson to Boswell (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 106). If we were to go by the Hervey family papers alone, he was an utterly worthless character. Writing to him at Oxford on 12 Oct. 1719, his father accuses him of having " given me more anxiety and disquiet than all my other children put together," and bitterly upbraids him for his ingratitude. Contemporarily described as " very idle " at college, and as possessing " very good natural parts, but no inclination at all to cultivate them by study," he piled up debts, of which many columns are recorded in his father's book of expenses. His father paid £600 for his commission, but even as an officer he neglected his duties, and his family almost despaired of his ever gaining promotion. " I am determined not to go to gaol in the place of one who has so long and often shown to all his friends that he is fitt to live nowhere else," wrote his father to him on 10 Nov.

1738, and in June 1742 advised him to sell out and pay his debts. Even after taking orders next year, "he continued to be wildly and recklessly extravagant," and in 1746 he angered his father by issuing a writ against two of his largest tenants. "Thank God, too, worthless Hervey Aston is dead, which may be a means to save his son and three daughters from entire beggary," wrote his mother's friend Lady Betty Germaine in 1748. In spite of all this evidence of his having been, at the best, a hopeless spendthrift, there must have been something in Henry Hervey to commend him to Johnson, and it is at least greatly to the credit of a man of such rank and fortune that he should have invited to his house in London the poor and still unknown son of the Lichfield bookseller. According to Cole, his preaching was much admired in London. Writing to Sir John Chesshyre, serjeant at law, a Cheshire neighbour of the Astons, on 1 Oct. 1731, Lord Bristol says:—"The match between my son Harry and Mrs. Aston having at last taken effect, notwithstanding I dissuaded the present completion of it for both their sakes" (asks for settlements, etc.). A letter to Lord Hervey, of 28 Aug. 1731, from Ickworth, speaks of "your brother Harry having left his wife here in a brooding melancholy condition." He had had at least one serious love affair before this, in 1724 and 1725, with Harriet, dau. and co-heir of the late Edmund Dunch, of Little Wittenham, Berks., M.P. for Wallingford and Comptroller of the King's Household. A contract had been entered into, about which Lord Bristol, on 16 Nov. 1725, paid £2-2-0 for legal advice, no doubt after Miss Harriet [who, as "Mrs. Harriet Dunch of Whitehall, with a Fortune of 15,000*l*." (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1735, p. 275), mard. on 6 May 1735 Lord Robert Montagu, afterwards 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Manchester] had retreated from the engagement. A lively letter from Henry Aston to "dear Davy" Garrick, dated "from a Sick-bed in New Bond-street, March 9th, 1744-5," and signed "yours most affectionately," detailing a friend's criticism of the actor's "Othello," reveals that Garrick had been "pleased facetiously to christen him . . . . the hack-apostle" (*Correspondence of David Garrick*, 1831, I., 31).

In the published letters to her sister, Miss Ann Granville, of Mrs. Pendarves [1700-88], who, born Mary, dau. of Bernard Granville, mard. 1<sup>st</sup>, Alexander Pendarves, and 2<sup>nd</sup> the celebrated Patrick Delany [1685 ?-1768], are three references to "Harry Harvey," the first under date of Feb. 1724/5, asking how his love affair with Miss Dunch goes on; the second, under date of 16 Apl. 1728, asking "what cavaliers have you now at Gloucester," and "where is Harry Harvey"; and the third, under date of 27 Apl. 1728, asking her to "keep Harry Harvey and the mountebank till I come, that they may divert me." The Granvilles were then living at Campden, near Gloucester, and Harry Hervey was evidently in the district. In



other of her letters to the same sister are numerous references to one "Ha Ha," who evidently had some admiration for Ann; and who, Lady Llanover says, "was probably the Honourable Henry Hervey." There can be no doubt that this identification is correct.\* The references range from 11 Nov. 1727, to 9 Oct. 1729, and from them we learn that "Ha Ha" was a soldier, and something of a poet; that Mrs. Pendarves met him at balls and concerts in London, at the play, and at Court—"bedecked with azure—a proper colour for a poet and a lover"; and that he was sometimes a visitor to Gloucester. What is most interesting is that though Mrs. Pendarves speaks of him mostly in a tone of amused banter, as "Mars's *pockett pistol*, alias *Apollo's Imp*, alias *Ha Ha*," or as "the little man of mettle," she allows him certain attractive qualities which were not recorded by his near relatives and which help to explain Johnson's feelings towards him. "Ha Ha's gaiety makes one fall into the same sort of humour." Comparing him with another man, she says that "the sparkling fire is more conspicuous in Ha Ha and his vivacity, which is really attended with wit, will at any time make those that converse with him, give him the preference." His compliments to women are too much in evidence, but their "ease . . . . gives them an air of sincerity." In her drawing of him and another, she fears she has "done them an injury, particularly Ha Ha. Regular features may easily be expressed, but there is a certain agreeable air that no limner can hit off, where there is a great deal of variety it will pose the most skillful to describe." Her letter of 10 Feb. 1728/9, indicates that she has not seen "Ha Ha" for a good while, and the diary of his father Lord Bristol shows that Harry Hervey left London for Ickworth on 14 July 1728 and apparently did not return to town until 18 Jany. 1728/9. On 28 Feb. 1728/9 she sees "Ha Ha," who was at a concert, "in the midst of a great crowd—and so was *the peer* among ten thousand." Lord Bristol's diary records that on 18 Dec. 1723 he gave £3-3-0 to his son "Henry to carry him to his quarters at Gloucester," showing that Henry's army career started long before his commission of Mch. 1726/7; and £5-5-0 on 30 June 1724 "when he went a second time to Gloucester." By Catherine Aston he left issue,

- i. Henry Hervey Aston, of Aston, Cheshire; succeeded to his mother's estates; matric. 7 Mch. 1758, aged 16, from Christ Church, Oxford; High Sheriff of Cheshire 1768; died at Spa, Germany, in 1785, aged 45. He mard. (?) in 1758) Catherine, youngest dau. of Edward Dicconson, of Wrightington Hall, Lancs., and by her, who was still

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\* The Rev. S. H. A. Hervey, the historian of the family, whose *Suffolk Green Books* are a monument to his powers of research, did not know of the "Ha Ha" references, but he thinks there can be no doubt they are to Harry Hervey.



living in 1817, he left issue. The will of Henry Aston, of Aston, co. Chester, Esq., dated at Spa, Germany, 8 Aug. 1784, was proved 17 Sept. 1785 in P.C.C. [Ducarel 451]; it is of no interest except as showing that he had an illegitimate family—carefully provided for—by one Teresa Guiseppa Ravizza of Milan.

1. Elizabeth Frances Aston, mar. to John Plampin, of Chadacre, par. of Shrimpling, co. Suffolk, and died 2 Oct. 1774, aged 42, leaving issue, of whom one son was Robert Plampin [1762-1834], Vice-Admiral.
  2. Catherine Aston, mar. — Hussey, and was alive with an unmard. dau. Catherine on 12 Nov. 1777.
  3. Henrietta Aston, bapt. 21 July 1734 at Elford; mard. 1762 James Bruce, of Killelagh, and ancestored family of Hervey-Bruce, barts.
- II. Mary Aston, born 25 Dec. 1706; mard. 31 May 1753 to David Brodie, Capt. R.N., an officer of some distinction, and died about 1765, without issue. David, elder son of Joseph Brodie, of Muiresk, by Margaret Hume his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, relict of Cornet William Ogilbie, of Burslay, whom he married in 1703, was born about 1709, and died 30 July 1787, at his house in Gallaway's Buildings, par. of St. James', Bath. The will of David Brodie, of Bath, co. Som., Esq., dated 15 Jany. 1784, was proved 11 Aug. 1787 in P.C.C. [Major 356], by William Brodie, Esq., the son, the resid. legatee and exor., to whom he left his fifth part of the personal estate of the late Lady Aston. William Brodie [1749-1812] was son of a former marriage, and Magistrate at Marlborough Street Police Court. Joseph was a cadet of Brodie of Brodie, and his first wife, whom he married in 1690, was Vere, dau. of James Brodie of Brodie, and aunt of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Lord Lyon King of Arms, whose dau. Emilia [born 30 Apl. 1730] mard. in 1751 John Macleod of Macleod. This Emilia was the "very polite and sensible woman, who had lived for some time in London, and had there been in Dr. Johnson's company," who entertained Boswell and the sage at Dunvegan in 1773 (*Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 297). No doubt it was through "Molly" Aston—of all the family the dearest to Johnson—and her husband that Johnson had made Mrs. Macleod's acquaintance in London.
- III. Elizabeth Aston, born 25 May 1708; bapt. 13 June 1708 at St. Anne's, Soho (*St. Anne's Church, Soho*, ed. Wm. Essington Hughes, 1905, p. 47); died unmard. 25 Nov. 1785, at her house, Stowe Hill, Lichfield, and was burd. in Lichfield Cathedral. The will of Elizabeth Aston, of Stowhill, par. of St. Michael, Lichfield, spinster, dated 12 Nov. 1777, with a codicil of 31 July 1784, was proved in P.C.C. [Norfolk 1] 5 Jany. 1786, by sister Magdalen Walmesley, the extrix. She desired to be burd. in the Cathedral, in or near the vault where

her late bror.-in-law, Gilbert Walmesley, Esq., was burd. To her sister Jane Gastrell, the messuage wherein she (Jane) then dwelt, at Stowhill, in par. of St. Chad, Lichfield. To her sister Magdalen Walmesley, her two other messuages, in one of which she herself dwelt, and all her lands in Stowhill, and other properties. To sisters Jane Gastrell, Ann Clutton and Margaret Collins, £1500 each, and same on trust to sister Sophia, wife of William Prujean, Esq. To niece Catherine, wife of Mr. Hussey, £500, with remr. to her dau. Catherine Hussey, spinster. To great-niece and god-dau., Elizabeth Plampin, £500. To Thomas Groves, of Arborfield, co. Berks., gent., £500. To Temperance Clutton, of Brockhill, co. Worc., widow of James Clutton, late of Kinnersley, co. Hereford, Esq., £200.\* To Rev. Theophilus Buckeridge, Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Lichfield, £100. From the codicil we learn that her sister Mrs. Walmesley was then of Bath.† Charles Simpson (see *ante*, IV., 167) was a witness to the will. Elizabeth Aston's long friendship with Johnson is familiar to all readers of Boswell (see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 231). His letters to her show great affection. In a footnote to *Anna Seward's Poetical Works*, ed. Walter Scott, 1810, Vol. I., p. 92, it is said of the "two elegant houses" at Stowe, that "they were built in the year 1756 by a lady of the Aston family." This statement, taken in conjunction with Elizabeth Aston's will, leaves little doubt that both Stowe Hill and Stowe House were built and owned by her, and that she left the former, where she herself lived, to Mrs. Walmesley, and the latter to Mrs. Gastrell. In Johnson's

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\* Lady Aston, mother of Elizabeth, in her will of 1 June 1750, had left £2000 in trust for Master Thomas Groves and Miss Temperance Groves his sister. The will of Thomas Groves, Esq., of Arborfield Cross, par. of Hurst, Berks., dated 25 Apl. 1788 and proved 15 July 1789 in P.C.C. [Macham 365], leaves £100 to his sister Temperance Clutton; he died 15 June 1789. Now Temperance, wife of James Clutton, according to Burke's *Landed Gentry* ("Brock of Pensax"), was dau. of Sir Thomas Aston, Bart., who certainly left no legitimate issue (see *post*, pp. 255-6). The evidence suggests that Thomas and Temperance Groves were illegitimate children of Sir Thomas Aston, and as such recognized by his relatives. James Clutton was younger bror. of Thomas Clutton who married Ann Aston.

† From the codicil it also appears that she was entitled to a sixth part of the messuage called Fearnhill House, and messuages in cos. Berks., Oxford, Bucks., and Lincs., after death of Dame Mary Knollys, widow of Sir Francis Knollys, bart., decd. Her sister Mrs. Walmesley's will of 12 Dec. 1785 shows a similar expectation in her own case, as does that of Mrs. Gastrell on 31 May 1790. Sir Francis Knollys, of Thame, co. Oxford, cr. a bart. in 1754, Sheriff of Oxford in 1757 and M.P. for Reading from 1761, mard. 1756 Mary, dau. and heir of Sir Robert Kendall Carter, of Kempston, co. Bedf., but died without issue on 29 June 1772, when the baronetcy became extinct (Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*). What the connexion was with the Astons I do not know. The will of Sir Francis Knollys, of Fearnhill, co. Berks., bart., dated 22 June 1772 and proved 10 July 1772 in P.C.C. [Taverner 263], leaves Fearnhill House to his wife for life and mentions no Astons.

time the houses do not seem to have had names to distinguish them from each other, for on 25 Mch. 1776 Boswell received a note that "Mrs. Gastrell, at the lower house on Stowhill, desires Mr. Boswell's company to dinner at two" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 470). The "lower house" is, of course, Stowe House, where Lord Charnwood now lives. It will be noticed that Elizabeth Aston and Mrs. Walmesley describe themselves as of Stowhill, par. of St. Michael's, while Mrs. Gastrell describes herself as of Stow, par. of St. Chad's. The house now known as Stowe Hill is in the par. of St. Michael's, and Stowe House in the par. of St. Chad's, which confirms the allocation of the two residences between the three sisters. The Rev. S. H. Parker says that Johnson first met Elizabeth Aston in the Palace at Lichfield, the residence of her bror.-in-law, Gilbert Walmesley (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 413). It was, apparently, through Magdalen's mar. to Walmesley in 1736 that the Astons became connected first with Lichfield: I have no record of earlier association. The date given for Elizabeth's building the houses on Stowe Hill, 1756, is significant. When Lady Aston died in 1752, she left five unmard. daus. of mature age, who no sooner got their freedom, and considerable fortunes, than they began to find husbands so successfully that by 1755 Elizabeth was the only one not so provided. Left alone, she evidently decided to coquet with bricks and mortar.\*

- IV. Magdalen Aston, born 1 July 1709, bapt. 14 Aug. 1709 at St. Anne's, Soho (*St. Anne's Church, Soho*, ed. Wm. Essington Hughes, 1905, p. 47); mard. 3 Apl. 1736 to Gilbert Walmesley [1680 ?-1751], Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court at Lichfield, the honoured friend and patron of the young Johnson (concerning whom see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 231; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 171-4). She died 11 Nov. 1786, without issue, and, as desired in her will, was burd. in the vault with her husband in Lichfield Cathedral. Her will, dated 12 Dec. 1785, and proved 13 Dec. 1786 in P.C.C. [Norfolk 642], describes her as late of Bath, now of Stow Hill, St. Michael's, Lichfield, and leaves all her real estate to her sister Jane Gastrell, of St. Chad, Lichfield, widow, the residuary legatee, and appoints her extrix. with Rev. James Falconer, D.D., of the Close, Lichfield (see ante, I., 14-15; II., 112). To her sister Margaret Collins, she leaves £1000; to John Bowdser, of Harpur Street, London, Esq., £1000 of 3% South Sea Annuities; and to her

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\* As this is in the press I read in an article by Lady Charnwood (*Cornhill*, Nov., 1927, pp. 535, 539) that Stowe Hill was built by Elizabeth Aston about 1754, while Stowe House was built in 1737 by [Thomas] Hinton, Canon of Windsor [and curate of St. Chad's, died 3 Sept. 1757, aged 47—Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 507], and afterwards purchased by Mrs. Gastrell. But Mrs. Gastrell inherited Stowe Hill from her sister Elizabeth.



servant, Margaret Perkins, £30 a year for life. Mrs. Walmesley was living at Bath in Oct. 1777, and we have seen from Elizabeth Aston's will that she was still there on 31 July 1784, so that she probably only returned to Lichfield to spend the last year of her life in the house her sister had left her. This, no doubt, is why Johnson seems to have seen less of her than of her sisters Elizabeth and Mrs. Gastrell. It is interesting to note that the library of "Gilbert Walmsley, esq. of Lichfield," was sold in 1756 by Thomas Osborne (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 650), the bookseller whom Johnson flattened out with a folio.

- V. Jane Aston, born 1 Feb. 1710; mard. 21 May 1752 (settlement 19 May 1752) to Rev. Francis Gastrell, Vicar of Frodsham, Cheshire (as "Miss Jenny Aston, daughter of late Sir Tho. Aston, of Aston Chesh. 20000*l.*"). He matric. 14 Dec. 1721, aged 14, from Christ Church, Oxford, as son of Peregrine Gastrell, of Slapton, Northants., who was Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester and nephew of Francis Gastrell [1662-1725], Bishop of Chester, whose *Christian Institutes* Johnson found in Sir Allan M'Lean's library at Inch Kenneth, recommending Boswell to buy a copy (*Tour to Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 378). Francis Gastrell became B.A. 1725; M.A. 1728; presented to vicarage of Frodsham 22 July 1740, by Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, and held it till his death on 5 Apl. 1772, without issue, aged 63; burd. at Frodsham (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 283). The will of Francis Gastrell, of Overton, par. of Frodsham, clerk, vicar of Frodsham, dated 2 Oct. 1768, tells us that under his marr. articles of 19 May 1752 he was entitled to receive £8,000 out of his wife's fortune, and the properties acquired with this sum he bequeaths to his wife Jane, whom he makes resid. legatee and extrix. He leaves a few legacies to his own relatives. A codicil of 27 Mch. 1772 is signed "at the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Aston at Stow Hill near Lichfield," Peter Garrick (David's brother) and Richard Greene (of "Museum" fame: see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 145-6) being wits.; and the will was proved 18 Apl. 1772 in P.C.C. [Taverner 132]. His widow died 30 Oct. 1791 at Stowe Hill, and, as desired in her will, was burd. in Frodsham churchyard in the vault with her husband. The will of Jane Gastrell, of Stow, par. of St. Chad's, Lichfield, widow, relict of Francis Gastrell, late vicar of Frodsham, clerk, is dated 31 May 1790, and bequeaths all her real estate in trust to Thomas Hinckley, and Francis Robinson, both of Lichfield, gent., including what she had inherited from her husband, and her sisters, Elizabeth Aston, Magdalen Walmesley, and Margaret Collins, to sell as necessary. "To Charlotte Bagnall, spinster, now residing in my family, dau. of the Rev. Thomas Bagnall, of Droitwich, co. Worc., clerk, decd., my messuage in Lichfield Close, now in the occupation of Mrs. Disbrowe,



which I hold by lease of the Vicars Choral of that Cathedral." To Charlotte Bagnall she also leaves £2000; and to Martha Bagnall, of Droitwich, co. Worc., widow of Thomas Bagnall, an annuity of £10. To Temperance Clutton, of the Heath, co. Worc., widow (see *ante*, p. 250), she leaves an annuity of £50. She also remembers distant cousins, and leaves an annuity of £20 to Sophie Pritchard, dau. of Sir Willoughby Aston, bart., decd., as well as legacies of £500 to Sophie's sisters, Mrs. Cotton, Mrs. Preston and Mrs. Gordon. To John Plampin, son of her late niece Elizabeth Plampin, of Chad Acre, in Suffolk, to his brothers Robert and George Plampin, and to their sisters, Mrs. Sophia Macklin, and Mrs. Harriet Harrington, £1000 each; and the same to [their first cousin] Rev. Henry Bruce, of Ireland, clerk, and his bror. Stewart Bruce, R.N., as well as to William Prujean, Esq., who mard. her late sister Sophia, and Mrs. Dawson [*née* Aston], wife of Ambrose Dawson, Dr. of Physic. To Charlotte Bagnall and Francis Robinson she leaves the several annuities hereafter mentioned, viz. £26 during minority of Lucy Arnold, then residing with her, granddau. of the late Rev. Benjamin Bond; £18 during minority of Jane Miller, dau. of William and Katherine Miller, decd.; £18 during minority of Katherine Miller, her sister; £6 during minority of George Miller, their brother; £4 during minority of Gilbert Walmesley, son of Edward Walmesley, late of Lichfield, decd., to cease as each attains 21 or dies. Well-known members of the Lichfield circle to benefit were, Thomas Hinckley, £1000; Francis Robinson, £500; Rev. Edward Simeon Remington (see *ante*, I., 12), £1000; Thomas White, of the Close, gent. (see *ante*, I., 11; III., 53; IV., 162.), £500; Catherine Falconer, dau. of Rev. James Falconer, D.D., of the Close (see *ante*, I., 14-15), £400; Rev. Henry White, of the Close (see *ante*, I., 11, 19, 40; II., 84-5), £50; and Rev. John Harrison, £50. In addition to servants, charities and poor people, and her husband's nephew Edward Gastrell, of Chester, Esq., others to benefit were John Allcock, of the Close, Dr. of Music, annuity of £10; Lt.-Col. Charles Rooke, late Capt. 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards, £1000; Rev. James Bond, of Tamworth, £500; Lucy Arnold, £1000 at 21; Jane and Catherine Miller, £800 each; and George Miller, £400. A codicil of 23 Sept. 1791 left an annuity of £10 to Sarah Lovely, widow, resident in Women's Hospital, Bacon Street. The will was proved 29 Nov. 1791 in P.C.C. [Bevor 515]. The monument to her in Lichfield Cathedral was "erected by her five nephews and three nieces [*i.e.*, great-nephews and great-nieces] who partook equally and amply of her bounty" (Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 87). As the last survivor of the family, Mrs. Gastrell was, as her will indicates, possessed of very considerable wealth. With her sister Elizabeth, she enjoyed the intimate friendship of Johnson, who, according to the Rev. S. H. Parker, first became acquainted with her in the house of her bror.-in-law, the Hon. Henry Hervey, in London

(*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 413). Her husband incurred the indignant censure of Boswell and others, which has reverberated through the centuries, for cutting down Shakespeare's mulberry tree, at New Place, Stratford, where he lived for a few weeks each year until 1762, after which he lived at Lichfield; and it is to be noted that both his and his widow's wills mention property at Stratford-on-Avon. The notice of her death in *Gent.'s Mag.* says that "neither Mrs. G. nor her husband, we are well assured, deserved this severity of Mr. Boswell, though we are not in possession of the controverting proofs." Malone, in 1788, was told by a Lichfield correspondent how Mrs. Gastrell—described as "little better than a fiend"—had let a house at Stowe Hill to a lady and then turned her out and let the house lie empty (Prior's *Life of Malone*, 1860, p. 142); but the story has little value as evidence.

VI. Anne Aston, born 7 July 1712; mard. Thomas Clutton, of Pensax Court, co. Worc., eldest son of Thomas Clutton, of Pensax, by Annaretta his wife, dau. of Sir John Morgan, 2<sup>nd</sup> bart., of Kinnersley Castle, co. Hereford. From her mother's will of 1 June 1750, we learn that the marr. had not had her consent. Thomas Clutton died 11 July 1736, and was burd. 18 July at Pensax. The will of Thomas Clutton, of Pensax, co. Worc., gent., dated 21 Aug. 1733 (probably made on his marr.), was proved 30 Oct. 1736 at Hereford, by Ann Clutton, the widow and sole extrix., to whom (and her issue, if any) he bequeathed his property; he left £2-2-0 to his sister-in-law, Margaret Aston, for a ring. The sole issue of her marr. was John Clutton, matric. 3 Dec. 1753, aged 18, from Wadham Coll., Oxford, who on 21 Dec. 1756 was "kill'd by his horse falling into a coal pit with him," when returning from the hunt; he was burd. 23 Dec. 1756 at Pensax. Mrs. Ann Clutton, "a lady of inflexible integrity, unbounded charity and eminently distinguished for every social and moral virtue," was burd. at Pensax on 15 May 1782.

VII. Sophia Aston, born 10 Dec. 1713; mard. July 1755 to William Prujean; living 12 Nov. 1777, dead 31 May 1790, without issue; supposed to be burd. in London. William Prujean was still living when Mrs. Gastrell made her will on 31 May 1790, and perhaps he was the William Prujean, of Sutton Gate, co. Essex, of late years resident in France, whose will, dated 1 Oct. 1794, was proved 14 Sept. 1796, in P.C.C. [Newcastle 272], by Elizabeth Prujean, the relict and sole extrix., to whom admon. had previously been granted on 15 Apl. 1795, both being described as of St. Omer. The will mentions his properties in London and Westminster, and ready money in hands of his cousin, Henry Errington, Esq. Writing to Elizabeth Aston, from Bolt Court, on 2 Jany. 1779, Johnson tells her that "the other day Mr. Prujean called, and left word that you, dear Madam, are grown

better" (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 83). Mr. Prujean was very probably the "brother-in-law" to Miss Aston and Mrs. Gastrell whom Boswell describes to Johnson as having "talked much of you," at Stowe Hill, on 19 Oct. 1779 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 412). If not, he must have been either Captain Brodie (whose name, however, I should have expected Boswell to give), or Mr. Collins (if he was alive then). At a "whisk" party at the Hon. James Lumley's, in May 1761, Horace Walpole met a "Mrs. Prujean," with the Hon. Lucy Southwell (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, V., 61). Now Johnson knew Lucy Southwell, and speaks of meeting her in 1773 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 205); and he described her brother, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Southwell, who died in 1766, as "the highest-bred man without insolence that I ever was in company with; the most *qualified* I ever saw" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 173-4). Possibly we have here the explanation of Johnson's friendship with the Southwells—that it came about through the Astons, or Mrs. Prujean.

- VIII. Margaret Aston, born 25 July 1714; mard. 4 Apl. 1753 (as "Miss Peggy Aston, 14000l.") to "Mr. Collins, attorney, near Worcester"; died without issue; burd. at Shelsley Beauchamp, co. Worc., 15 Feb. 1790. The will of Margaret Collins, of Great Shelsley, co. Worc., widow, dated 18 May 1789, was proved 9 July 1790 in P.C.C. [Bishop 324] by her friend John Prosser, of Little Shelsley, gent., the resid. legatee and exor. To her sister Jane Gastrell, of Lichfield, widow, she left £1200 and other interests; to children of her niece Elizabeth Plampin, of co. Suffolk, decd., £500 each; to Henry Bruce, of Ireland, clerk, £500; to Steward Bruce, of Ireland, £1000; and to Thomas Groves, of Reading, Berks., £500. Her freehold estate called the Hillside, in Great Shelsley, to be held in trust for John Collins, of Abberley, co. Worc., yeoman, and then to his right heirs; and her freehold mansion called Brockhill, in Great Shelsley, to John Prosser. It would look as if her husband had been of inferior social rank to herself.

**SIR THOMAS ASTON**, only son of Sir Thomas Aston preceding, 3<sup>rd</sup> bart. of Aston; succeeded as 4<sup>th</sup> bart. in 1725; elected M.P. for Liverpool I George II., and afterwards for St. Albans. In the *Catalogue of the Johnsonian Collection of R. B. Adam*, privately printed, 1921, is given a letter, dated Whitehall, 8 Feb. 1739, from Sir Thomas Aston to his mother, in which he says:—"I am just setting out on my intended journey. When I shall see you again God knows. . . . I am at present uncertain how my letters are to be directed. Any sent to Molly will come to me for I'll take care always to let her know my address." He died in Feb. 1743/4, "on his travels at Paris," and was burd. 17 Feb. 1743/4 at Aston. Admon. of estate of Sir Thomas Aston, late of chapelry of Aston, par. of Runcorn, co. Cheshire, widower, was granted 11 May 1744 in P.C.C. to



Dame Katherine Aston, widow, the mother. On 10 Mch. 1735/6, when M.P. for St. Albans, he had married Rebecca (born 25 Nov. 1717), dau. of John Shish, of Greenwich, who died without issue 16 May 1737, in Sherrard Street, Golden Square, London, and was burd. at Aston.

There is one clause in Mrs. Gastrell's will of particular interest, as affecting the history of the Johnson MSS. at Pembroke College—that in which she leaves a property in Lichfield Close “to Charlotte Bagnall, spinster, now residing in my family” (see *ante*, p. 252). It was Charlotte's son, the Rev. Samuel Hay Parker, who presented the MSS., on 1 June 1827, after taking his degree (see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 282-3; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, I., 4; II., 110; III., 112). We now see that, though the particulars supplied by the Parker family were inaccurate in several ways, yet the main statement was correct—that Charlotte Bagnall acquired her Johnsonian treasures through association with Mrs. Gastrell. We learn, too, that her father had been the Rev. Thomas Bagnall, of Droitwich. The Rev. C. F. Mytton, the present Rector of St. Andrews, Droitwich, kindly tells me, in answer to enquiries, that Thomas Bagnall succeeded Edward Cooper there as Curate in 1769, and he has found the following entries in the register :—

1770. Mch. 28. Nancy, Daughter of the Revd. Thomas Bagnall & of Martha his Wife, was born March 21<sup>st</sup> & baptiz'd y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>.  
 1771. June 21. Beaufoy, Dau. of     ,,     ,,     born May 23 & baptiz'd June 21<sup>st</sup>.  
 1772. May 19. John, Son of     ,,     ,,     born May 2<sup>nd</sup> & baptiz'd y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>.  
 1774. June 27. Richard, Son of     ,,     ,,     born June 17, and baptiz'd y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>.  
 1775. Aug. 24. Samuel, Son of     ,,     ,,     born Aug. 22<sup>d</sup>, & baptiz'd y<sup>e</sup> 24.  
 1776. Aug. 12. Samuel, Son of     ,,     ,,     burd.  
 1776. Oct. 2. Samuel Silvester, Son of     ,,     born Sept. 25<sup>th</sup> & baptiz'd Oct. 2<sup>d</sup>.  
 1776. Oct. 10. Samuel Silvester, Son of     ,,     burd.  
 1787. Feb. 6. The Rev<sup>d</sup> Thos. Bagnall late Minister of St. Andrews     burd.  
 1794. June. 18. Mrs. Martha Bagnall, Relict of the Revd. Mr. Bagnall     burd.

The Rev. Thomas Bagnall probably acted as curate in charge of the parish for absentee Rectors. He was, no doubt, the Thomas, son of Joseph Bagnall, of Dudley, co. Worc., *pleb.*, who matric. 23 Feb. 1749/50, aged 19, from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and took his B.A. in 1753 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*). His daughter Charlotte must have been born (in 1765, we have been told) before he went to Droitwich. What led to Mrs. Gastrell taking her into her household we do



not know, but a bequest of the house in the Close, as well as a capital sum of £2000, was a handsome recognition of the young woman's merits. Mrs. Bagnall, the widowed mother, received an annuity of £10 only.

## APPENDIX N.

### THE WHITBYS OF GREAT HAYWOOD

(See *ante*, p. III)

THE following is an account of Thomas Whitby and his children, which I found it necessary to prepare when considering Johnson's association with the family :—

**THOMAS WHITBY**, of Great Haywood, par. of Colwich, co. Staffs.; High Sheriff of Staffs., 4 George I.; burd. 30 May. 1747 at Colwich, aged 75. He mard. Jane, dau. of William Green: she was burd. 22 Nov. 1753 at Colwich. The will of Thomas Whitby, of Great Heywood, co. Staffs., Esq., dated 22 Apl. 1745, with a codicil of 27 Jany. 1745/6, was proved 5 Feb. 1747/8 in P.C.C. [Strahan 65], by Jane the relict, by whom he had issue,

- I. Thomas Whitby, bapt. 9 May 1710 and burd. 14 Oct. 1716 at Colwich.
- II. Humphrey Whitby, bapt. 16 May 1712 at Colwich; killed Feb. 1731 by falling down the hundred steps at Eton.
- III. William Whitby, bapt. 4 Aug. and burd. 9 Sept. 1713 at Colwich.
- IV. John Whitby, of Whitby's Wood, par. of Colwich; bapt. 30 June 1716 at Colwich; matric. 24 Mch. 1735/6, aged 19, from University Coll., Oxford; barr.-at-law, Middle Temple, 1742 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*); died 13 Feb. 1750/1, "of the small-pox," aged 34 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1751, p. 91); burd. 13 Feb. 1750/1 at Colwich. The will of John Whitby, of Whitby's Wood, par. of Colwich, co. Staffs., dated 17 June 1747, was proved 17 Apl. 1751 at Lichfield. He asks to be burd. in Colwich Church, near parents, and leaves to his wife (not named) his jewels, plate, linen and household goods, for life; also his chariot and four horses, and harness for four horses. To younger son, William, £6000, pursuant to the power given him by marr. settlement, but if more children born, all to have equal portions, and appoints £8000 to

be divided amongst them pursuant to sd. powers. Rest of goods, etc., to wife and bror. Edward Whitby, in trust for son Thomas, but if he die before 21 or without issue then for son William, and if both die as stated, and no other children are born to him, then to wife £1,000 to which he is entitled at death of Mr. Jollif, and to bror. Northey £100 for a ring, the remainder to be divided between mother, brors. Edward and Richard, and sisters Scott and Jane. Wife to be children's guardian while a widow. Bror. Edward to be guardian of real estate, for which he is to have £100 at death of Sir Wm. Jollif. Exors., wife and bror. Edward. Wits., Thos. Congreve, Brooke Cratchley. Proved 17 Apl. 1751 by Ann and Edward Whitby, the exors., at Lichfield. His wife Anna was the only dau. of William Northey, of Compton Basset, co. Wilts., M.P., by Abigail his wife, dau. of Sir Thomas Webster, 1<sup>st</sup> bart., of Battle Abbey, co. Sussex. This Anna mard., 2<sup>ndly</sup>, by lic., 23 Sept. 1752, at Colwich, Sir William Wolseley, 5<sup>th</sup> bart., of Wolseley, co. Staffs., who was burd. 18 June 1779 at Colwich. She is said to have mard., 3<sup>rdly</sup>, John Robins, M.P. for Stafford, and 4<sup>thly</sup>, Francis Hargrave. Famous as "*The Widow of the Wood*," under which title Benjamin Victor published, London, 1755, an account of her matrimonial experiments. John and Anna Whitby left issue.

- V. Edward Whitby, of Shut End, par. of Kingswinford, co. Staffs. ; bapt. 26 Nov. 1717 at Colwich ; burd. 2 June 1788 at Himley, co. Staffs., leaving issue by his wife Mary (burd. 29 Mch. 1809 at Himley), dau. of Rev. John Dolman, Vicar of Aldridge, co. Staffs.
- VI. Richard Whitby, of Derby, attorney-at-law, and of Osbaston, co. Derby ; bapt. 3 Apl. 1718 at Colwich ; died 29 May 1783 ; burd. at All Saints, Derby. He mard. Catherine, dau. of Henry Dolphin, of Shenstone, co. Staffs. ; she died 5 May 1803, aged 72, leaving issue, and was burd. with her husband.
- I. Mary Whitby, bapt. 13 Oct. 1714 at Colwich ; mard. by lic., 27 Dec. 1744, at Colwich, to William Scott, of the Nether House, in Great Barr, co. Staffs., son of John Scott, of Coleshill, co. Warw. ; bapt. 8 Apl. 1712 at Great Barr ; died 16 Mch. 1753 ; burd. at Aldridge, co. Staffs. She was burd. at Aldridge 14 Mch. 1796, leaving issue, her only son being Sir Joseph Scott [1752-1828], 1<sup>st</sup> bart. of Great Barr.
- II. Jane Whitby, bapt. 29 Dec. 1721 at Colwich ; mard., 1<sup>st</sup>, 11 Feb. 1762, to "David Roberts, Esq." (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1762, p. 93) ; mard., 2<sup>ndly</sup>, Col. Wells, and died without issue.

This table has been compiled from Colwich registers, and from the wills and other references quoted ; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Whitby of Creswell," and "Northey of Woodcote" ; Burke's *Peerage*, "Scott of Great Barr," and "Wolseley of Wolseley" ;

J. C. Cox's *All Saints, Derby*, p. 153; Glover's *Derbyshire*, 1833, II., 587; and information from the Rev. F. A. Homer.

## APPENDIX O.

### "PARSON" FORD'S MOTHER

(See *ante*, p. 65)

IN *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 147, I printed an abstract of the will of Elizabeth Bowyer, of Kidderminster, widow, dated 28 Jany. 1717/18, in which she appoints her "brother-in-law, Joseph Ford, Dr. of Physic," as one of the exors. Taking this in conjunction with the fact that Joseph Ford, in his will of 10 Feb. 1720/1, leaves £340 for "the children of my late Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Bowyer" (*ibid.*, p. 191), I concluded that she must have been a sister of Jane, the wife successively of Gregory Hickman and Joseph Ford. The parentage of Jane was unknown, but recently, thinking that the mother of Johnson's early friend Gregory Hickman, and of his cousin "Parson" Cornelius Ford, should be more than a mere Christian name to us, I have pursued enquiries at Kidderminster, where I thought the key to the question must lie, which have revealed the facts.

In the Kidderminster register were found these suggestive entries :—

1675. July 27. mar. Gregory Hickmans & Jane Launder.

1677. Oct. 3. bapt. Richard, son of Gregory Hickmans and Jane.

1679. Dec. 26. bapt. Mary, dau. of Gregory Hickmans and Jane.

That this was Gregory Hickman of Stourbridge was clear, for here were the baptisms of his two elder children, which could not be found at Oldswinford (*ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXVII.). Further references to the name Launder were found :—

1681/2. Mch. 10. bur. Eliz. wife of Gilbert Launder.

1685. Aug. 12. bur. Joan, wife of Mr. Thos. Launder.

1698. Apl. 11. bur. Thos. Launder, one of the 12.\*

1714. Dec. 27. mar. Philip Hely and Sarah Launder.

And from the Worcester Probate Registry came the following valuable and clinching record :—

**THOMAS LAUNDER**, of Kidderminster, decd. Admon. of goods, etc., granted at Worcester, 29 July 1698, to *Elizabeth*, wife of *John Bowyer*, dau. of intestate. Sureties, *John Bowyer*, of Kidderminster, shearmaker, *Richard Baker*, of same, clothier, and *John Barker*, of same, gent. Inventory 20 Apl. 1698 by *Abraham Thomas*, *Samuel Bowyer* and *John Doolittle* ; total, £185-4-1.

Whereas *Thomas Launder*, late of Kidderminster, in co. and dioc. of Worcester, cowper, decd., died intestate, by means whereof the admon. of the goods and chattels of sd. *Thomas Launder* belonest unto his three daus., *Jane*, now wife of *Joseph Ford*, of Stourbridge, co. Worc., gent., *Joyce*, now wife of *Nicholas Ward*, of Bewdley, co. Worc., joyner, and *Elizabeth*, now wife of *John Bowyer*, of Kidderminster, shearmaker, now know that we the sd. *Joseph Ford* and *Jane* my wife, *Nicholas Ward* and *Joyce* my wife, do renounce and disclaim the sd. admon. and do give leave that the sd. *Elizabeth Bowyer*, our sister, shall take out the same, etc. ; dated 15 July 1698. Signed, *Joseph Ford*, *Jane Ford*, *Nicholas Ward* and *Joyce Ward*.

The following wills throw more light on this connexion :—

**JOHN BOWYER**, of Kidderminster, co. Worc., innholder, "weake in body." Dated 18 Mch. 1708 9. Copyhold meadow called Haverley meadow, in manor of Kidderminster Forren, to wife *Elizabeth* for life, and then to son *William Bowyer*, if he die then to dau. *Phebe Bowyer*, and if both die to wife *Elizabeth* to her own use. To wife *Elizabeth*, three acres of leasehold land lying in Leswall Field in Kidderminster, for life, and then to son *William Bowyer*, with reversions as before. To son *William Bowyer*, £150 at 21. To dau. *Phebe Bowyer*, £200 at 21. To son-in-law, *John Spencer*, £5. To dau.-in-law, *Elizabeth Smith*, wife of *William Smith*, jun., of Kidderminster, glover, 5<sup>s</sup>/- . To dau.-in-law, *Mary Spencer*, £5. To bror., *James Bowyer*, one broad piece of gold. Residue to wife *Elizabeth*, whom I appoint extrix. Overseers, *Joseph Ford*, of Stourbridge, gent., and *Thomas Radford*, of Kidderminster, clothier. Signed, *Jo. Bowyer*. Wits., *John Breckwell*, *Will. Radford*, *Edward Toye*. Inventory dated 2 Aug. 1709, by *Saml. Reade*, and *Thomas Radford* ; total, £622-13-8. Proved 22 Aug. 1709 at Worcester, by extrix.

**JOHN ANDREWS**, of Kidderminster, co. Worc., innholder, "something indisposed." Dated 4 May. 1723. To wife *Mary*, moiety of property at Bridgnorth, co. Worc., near market house, for her life, the other moiety being settled on her at marr. After her death, to dau. *Elizabeth Andrews*. To son *Thomas*

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\* "The Twelve" were the Capital Burgesses of the Common Council, the equivalent of our aldermen (*John Richard Burton's Kidderminster*, 1890, pp. 57, 73).



*Andrews*, £10 at 21, and direct wife at own cost to set him out apprentice to some creditable trade or employment, and maintain him till 21. To dau. *Frances*, £20 at 21. Residue to wife *Mary*, whom I appoint extrix. Signed, *John Andrews*. Wits., *Uzall Penn*, *Francis Winwood*, *Edward Toy*. Inventory dated 9 Sept. 1723 by *John Malpas*, and *Benjamin Bach*; total, £362-5-0. Proved 26 Oct. 1723, at Worcester, by extrix.

The following entries in the Kidderminster registers increase our knowledge of the various connected families :—

1699.	Dec. 2.	bapt. Samuel, son of John Bowyer & Elizabeth.
1699/1700.	Feb. 23.	burd. Samuel Bowyer.
1700.	June 21.	bapt. Samuel, son of John Bowyer & Elizabeth.
1702.	Sept. 21.	bapt. Phebe, dau. of John Bowyer & Elizabeth.
1703.	Oct. 1.	bapt. William, son of John Bowyer & Elizabeth.
1709.	Apl. 19.	burd. Mr. John Bowyer.
1710.	May 17.	burd. William Smith, senr., glover.
1710/11.	Feb. 13.	mard. John Andrews & Mary Spencer, at Mitton, <i>lic</i> .
1711.	Dec. 31.	bapt. Elizabeth, dau. of John Andrews & Mary.
1714.	July 8.	burd. Hannah, dau. of John Andrews & Mary.
1717/18.	Mch. 14.	burd. Mrs. Elizabeth Bowyer.
1718.	July 28.	bapt. Mary, dau. of Mr. John Andrews & Mary.
1720/1.	Feb. 14.	burd. Mary, dau. of John Andrews & Mary.
1723.	July 31.	burd. Mr. John Andrews.
1726.	Sept. 1.	mard. Mr. Samuel Bradshaw, Uttoxeter, & Phebe Bowyer <i>lic</i> .

From the foregoing evidences, and those printed in *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, we can construct the following little pedigree :—

**THOMAS LAUNDER**, of Kidderminster, cooper; a Capital Burgess of the Common Council of Kidderminster; his wife Joan burd. 12 Aug. 1685 at Kidderminster; he burd. there 11 Apl. 1698. Admon. granted at Worcester 29 July 1698. He left issue three daus. and co-heirs,

I. Jane Launder, mard., 1<sup>st</sup>ly, 27 July 1675, to Gregory Hickman [1651-90], of Stourbridge, clothier, and had issue by him (*ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXVII.). She mard., 2<sup>nd</sup>ly, about the end of 1690, Joseph Ford [1662-1721], M.D., of Stourbridge, uncle of Doctor Johnson. She died a widow, and was burd. 20 Sept. 1722 at Oldswinford, leaving a second family by Dr. Ford (*ibid.*, Tabular Pedigree XXIX). Her will, dated 11 Sept. 1722, was proved 2 Oct. 1722 at Worcester.

II. Joyce Launder, mard. Nicholas Ward, of Bewdley, co. Worc., joiner. Mrs. Ford, in her will of 11 Sept. 1722, mentions her sister Joice Ward, in conjunction with her nieces Ann Hunt, and Mary Withers, who no doubt were Joyce's children.

III. Elizabeth Launder, mard., 1<sup>stly</sup>, — Spencer, and had issue,

1. John Spencer, living 18 Mch. 1708/9.

1. Elizabeth Spencer, mard. before 18 Mch. 1708/9 to William Smith, jun., of Kidderminster, glover (no doubt son of William Smith, sen., glover, who was burd. 17 May 1710 at Kidderminster). They were both alive on 28 Jany. 1717/18.

2. Mary Spencer, mard. 13 Feb. 1710/11 at Mitton, nr. Kidderminster, by lic., to John Andrews, of Kidderminster, innholder. He was burd. 31 July 1723 at Kidderminster. His will, dated 4 May 1723, was proved 26 Oct. 1723, at Worcester, by his widow. They had issue,

(a) Thomas Andrews, living a minor 4 May 1723.

(b) Elizabeth Andrews, bapt. 31 Dec. 1711 at Kidderminster; living 4 May 1723.

(c) Hannah Andrews, burd. 8 July 1714 at Kidderminster.

(d) Mary Andrews, bapt. 28 July 1718 and burd. 14 Feb. 1720/1 at Kidderminster.

(e) Frances Andrews, living a minor and unmar'd. 4 May. 1723.

She mard., 2<sup>ndly</sup>, John Bowyer, of Worcester Street, Kidderminster, shearmaker, and later innholder, who was burd. 19 Apl. 1709 at Kidderminster. His will, dated 18 Mch. 1708/9, was proved 22 Aug. 1709 at Worcester. She was burd. 14 Mch. 1717/18 at Kidderminster, and her will, dated 28 Jany. 1717/18, was proved 30 Apl. 1718 and 17 June 1721 at Worcester. By John Bowyer she had issue,

1. Samuel Bowyer, bapt. 2 Dec. 1699 and burd. 23 Feb. 1699/1700 at Kidderminster.

2. Samuel Bowyer, bapt. 21 June 1700 at Kidderminster; not mentioned in father's will 18 Mch. 1708/9.

3. William Bowyer, bapt. 1 Oct. 1703 at Kidderminster; living a minor 28 Jany. 1717/18.

1. Phœbe Bowyer, bapt. 21 Sept. 1702 at Kidderminster; mard. there, 1 Sept. 1726, by lic., to Mr. Samuel Bradshaw, of Uttoxeter, Staffs.

If the search in the Kidderminster register were continued backwards, it is very possible that further information of the Launderers might be found, including the baptism of Thomas Launder's children. It would appear that Dr. Joseph Ford married a wife some years older than himself, for when her first marriage took place he was a boy of only thirteen. Among the signatories to the second "call" sent from Kidderminster to Richard Baxter, about June 1647, were "Tho.

Launder," and "Gilbert Launder" (*Life of Richard Baxter*, by Frederick J. Powicke, 1924, I., 299-300).

The question of the issue of Elizabeth Spencer and William Smith is a difficult one, for there seem to have been three contemporary couples at Kidderminster with their names, a William Smith having married Elizabeth Brumell, on 27 Dec. 1704, and a William Smith married Elizabeth Hill on 25 Dec. 1710. Elizabeth, wife of William Smith, was burd. 2 Sept. 1722 ; another Elizabeth, wife of Mr. William Smith, on 10 Sept. 1723 ; and a William Smith on 29 Aug. 1727. The registers record the following children of "William Smith and Elizabeth" at this period :—William, bapt. 1 May 1707 ; Elizabeth, bapt. 27 Aug. 1708 ; William (of Franch), burd. 9 May 1709 ; Samuel, bapt. 5 Aug. 1709\* ; William, bapt. 13 Apl. 1711 ; Elizabeth, burd. 19 Sept. 1711 ; Elizabeth, bapt. 28 Dec. 1711 ; Mary, bapt. 28 Mch. 1713 ; Elizabeth, bapt. 28 Oct. 1713 ; Sarah, bapt. 21 Aug. 1714 ; Mary, burd. 29 July 1715 ; Martha, bapt. 16 Jany. 1715/16 ; Samuel, bapt. 2 Nov. 1717 ; Phœbe, bapt. 21 Feb. 1717/18 and burd. 24 Apl. 1718 ; John, bapt. 25 Apl. 1720 and burd. 13 Mch. 1722/3 ; and Mary, burd. 11 June 1723. It might be possible to disentangle these children by searching the Smith wills at Worcester ; but that would be no light task.

The search in the Kidderminster registers revealed that a Cornelius Ford was burd. there on 28 July 1720 ; who he would be I cannot say.

Mr. Homer, who made the foregoing searches, sends me the following interesting will abstract, which shows, among other things, how the characteristic name of Gregory came into the Hickman family of Stourbridge :—

**GREGORY BAKER**, of Old Swinford, co. Worc., yeoman. Dated 3 Sept. 1656. To *John Baker*, my only son and heir, all my messuages, cottages, houses, lands and tenements, with their appurtenances. To *Sarah Baker*, dau. of sd. son, £30. To dau. *Mary*, wife of *Richard Hickman*, jun., of Stourbridge, all the monies she hath of mine in her hands and custody. To sd. son-in-law, *Richard Hickman*, £20. To their five children, sums as follows, *Gregory* £60, *Richard* £40, *Mary* £30, *Rose* £30, and *Anne* £30. To beloved wife *Mary* £5, and all the brass, pewter,

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\* The Samuel bapt. 5 Aug. 1709 would be the Samuel, son of William Smith, of Kidderminster, *pleb.*, who matric. at Oxford, 8 Dec. 1727, aged 18, from Pembroke Coll., and took his B.A. from Merton Coll. in 1731 (*Foster's Alumni Oxonienses*).

linen, bed and beddings, which she brought with her, provided she give to said son *John* a release of all her estate, claim and title of dower in all my lands and tenements. To sd. grandchildren, all rest of goods and household stuff. To *Gregory Maurice*, of Stourbridge, son of *Thomas Maurice* of Stourbridge, £5 at 21. To my sister *Isabel Bisbey*, late wife of *John Hickman*, late of Stourbridge, decd., £5. To *Elizabeth* and *Mary Hickman*, daus. of sd. *John Hickman* and *Isabel*, £5 and 20<sup>s</sup>. - respectively. To *John Rock*, £3. To *Mrs. Mary Sankey*, of Cannock [Cannock], £10. To poor of Old Swinford, £3 to be distributed at discretion of parson and churchwardens. Residue to sd. son *John Baker*, whom I appoint exor.; and my beloved brors.-in-law, *Henry Eccleshall* and *Isaac Ledon*, and loving brother *Henry Baker*, to be overseers and have 5<sup>s</sup>/- each. Signed, *Gregory Baker*. Wits., *James Dalton* and *Isaac Ledon*. On further consideration I appoint legacies bequeathed to son *Richard Hickman*, and his now living children, to be paid 12 months after my decease; also the £10 to *Mrs. Mary Sankey*. Ten shillings yearly to poor of Old Swynford as minister and churchwardens shall think fit. Dated 30 Sept. 1656. Proved 18 Nov. 1656 at London by *John Baker*, sole exor.

The *Richard Hickman* [1623-60], jun.—brother of *Henry Hickman* [1629-92], the controversialist—who is thus shown to have married *Gregory Baker*'s daughter *Mary*, was father of *Gregory Hickman* who married *Jane Launder*. Moreover *Gregory Baker* had married *Ann*, daughter of *Thomas Eccleshall*, of Stourbridge, shoemaker, and sister of *Isabel Eccleshall* who married *John Hickman*, uncle of the said *Richard Hickman* (see *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, IV., 61), as his will indeed evidences. *Gregory Baker*'s wife *Mary*, mentioned in his will, must have been a second wife.

From the pedigree of "Baker of Bayfordbury" in the *Victoria County History*'s "Hertfordshire Families," 1907, it appears that we can trace the name *Gregory* back further through another female. *John Baker*, of Stourbridge, who died in 1614, married *Joan*, dau. of *Gregory Woodward*, of Bromyard, co. Hereford, and had ten children, two of whom were *Gregory* and *Henry*. The former must have been *Gregory Baker* who died in 1656, whose will mentions his brother *Henry*. *John Baker* was brother to *Nicholas Baker*, of Stourbridge, yeoman, whose great-great-granddau. *Anne Baker* married the Rev. *John Wightwick* in 1740 (see ante, p. 213).



## APPENDIX P.

## THE CAMBDEN FAMILY OF BIRMINGHAM

(See *ante*, p. 105)

IN reference to Johnson's request of 25 Nov. 1734 for Cave to address him at "the Castle in Birmingham," Joseph Hill tells us that "the Castle was then kept by the Widow Camden" (*Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 43). From Mr. Powell I learn that at the end of Johnson's Journal of his Tour in Wales, in the British Museum, is the following memorandum :—

Aug. 1777.—At Birmingham I was told that Mrs. Roebuck, who was once Miss Camden, was dead, and at Lichfield I found Harry Jackson dead [see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 188]. I hoped some time to have seen Miss Camden, and reckoned upon the company of Jackson. Miss Turton is dead too. *De spe decidi*.

In his letter of 7 Aug. 1777, to Mrs. Thrale, from Lichfield, Johnson had said :—

At Birmingham I heard of the death of an old friend, and at Lichfield of the death of another. *Anni prædantur euntes*. One was a little older, the other a little younger than myself (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 17).

And writing to her on 13 Aug. 1777 he said :—"Miss Turton and Harry Jackson are dead" (*ibid.*, II., 20). Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in a footnote, "supposes" that "Miss Turton was the friend whose death Johnson heard of at Birmingham, and Harry Jackson the friend whose death he heard of at Lichfield." But this will not do (if Johnson has preserved the same order in stating their ages), for Miss Catherine Turton of Lichfield, who was burd. "31" Aug. 1777, was dau. of John Turton, of Alrewas, by his first marriage, in 1710, to Katherine Benson (*Pedigree of Turton*, by F. A. Homer and C. S. James, privately printed, 1924, p. 6), and so must have been Johnson's junior. John Turton's third wife was Mabella, dau. of Dr. Swynfen (see *ante*, III., 91-2).

It is pretty clear, I think, that the friend "a little older than" himself was Mrs. Roebuck, "once Miss Camden." I have been at much pains to gain information of the Cambden (for so they spelt the

name) family of Birmingham, but without great success. The following are all the entries relating to the name in the registers of St. Martin's church at Birmingham : baptisms and marriages to 1766 and burials to 1750 :—

- 1658. mar. Ralph Smith, of Henley, and Ann Camden, of the Town of Warwick, pub. 1, 8, 15 July.
- 1682. mar. Henery Camden & Mary Alen, both of this par., 20 Apl.
- 1683. bapt. John, son of Henery & Mary Cambden, 25 May, born 9<sup>th</sup>.
- 1684. bapt. Marey, dau. of Henery & Mary Camden, 7 Sept., born 15 Aug.
- 1686. bapt. Henery, son of Henery Camden, born 17 July.
- 1688. bapt. Elisabeth, dau. of Henery Camdin, Jany. 10.
- 1689. bur. A child of Henery Camdin's, Sept. 5.
- 1690. bapt. William, son of Henery Camdin, Feb. 2.
- 1691. burd. William, son of Henery Camdin, July 12.
- 1692. burd. Marey, wife of Henery Camdin, July 18.
- 1712. bapt. Mary, dau. of Henery Cambden, born Oct. 7.
- 1714. bapt. Elizabeth, dau. of Henry Camden, born Feb. 12.
- 1716. bapt. John, son of Henry Camdin, born Dec. 16.
- 1718. bapt. Thomas, son of Henry Cambdin, born Nov. 18.
- 1723. bur. Henry, son of Henry Cambden, at the New Church, 4 Dec.
- 1754. bapt. Ann, dau. of Joseph & Ann Camden, 1 Oct.

At St. Philip's, Birmingham, between 1715 and 1800, the following entries were found :—

- 1720. July 20. bur. Thomas, son of Henry Cambden.
- 1723. Oct. 4. bur. Hannah, dau. of Henry Cambden.
- Dec. 4. bur. Henry, son of Henry Cambden.
- 1728. Sept. 24. bur. Henry Cambden.
- 1728/9. Jan. 22. bur. Sarah, dau. of Hannah Cambden, widow.
- 1743. May. 5. bur. James Cambden.
- Oct. 29. bur. Elizabeth, dau. of John Cambden.
- 1748/9. Mch. 14. bur. Hannah, dau. of John Cambden.
- 1749/50. Jan. 24. bur. Mary, dau. of John Cambden.
- 1752. Oct. 26. bur. Henry Cambden.
- 1753. Feb. 6. bur. John, son of John & Mary Cambden.
- 1776. July 24. bur. John Cambden.
- 1782. Dec. 15. bur. Mary Cambden.

These extracts have been made for me by the Rev. F. A. Homer. I owe the following abstract of a deed in the Birmingham Reference Library (Birm. Deeds, No. 297,287) to the kindness of Mr. W. B. Bickley :—

- 1727. Sept. 16. Assignment of lease and mortgage from *Alice Lloyd*, late of B'ham, but now of Hamstead Hall, co. Staffs., widow, *John Cambden*, of Stockwell,

co. Surrey, clerk, son and admor. of goods, etc., of *Henry Cambden*, the elder, of B'ham, afsd., short cutler, decd., *Henry Cambden*, of B'ham, afsd., innholder, *Robert Macbraire*, of Worcester, linen draper, and *Mary* his wife, *Thomas White*, of Gloucester, glover, and *Elizabeth*, his wife, which sd. *Henry Cambden*, party-hereto, *Mary Macbraire* and *Elizabeth White*, are also children of sd. *Henry Cambden*, to *Henry Carver*, of B'ham, brassfounder, of a blade mill built at the costs of the sd. *Henry Cambden*, in par. of Northfield, upon part of farm called Gowers Farm, granted to him by *Joseph Rann*, of B'ham, currier, by indenture dated 25 Mch. 1707, with the mill pool, etc., and land lying near to Selly Bridge, for a term of 99 years, and mortgaged, by indenture dated 2 July 1720, to sd. *Alice Lloyd*, to hold to sd. *Henry Carver*, for remainder of term. Wits. to sig. of *John Cambden* :—*Henry Carver*, jun., and *William Maxwell*. Wits. to sigs. of *Henry Cambden* and *Alice Lloyd* :—*R. Rann* and *Nath. Ford*. Wits. to sigs. of *Thomas White* and *Elizabeth* his wife :—*Thos. Rogers*, jun., and *George Willes*. Wits. to sig. of *Robt. Macbraire* and *Mary* his wife :—*John Southall* and *Geo. Willes*.

Mr. Bickley has also sent me notes, from the same source, of five deeds relating to the Moat Barn, B'ham :—

1717, Sept. 30. Conveyance from *John Bromwich*, of Barr Magna, par. of Aldridge, co. Staffs., cordwainer, and *Margaret* his wife, and *William Bromwich*, of Perry Barr, par. of Handsworth, yeoman, father of sd. *John Bromwich*, to *Henry Cambden*, the elder, of B'ham, knife cutler, in consid. of £48, of part of a barn called Mote barn, with a piece of land adjacent, in B'ham. Wits., *Chr. Hooke*, *William Peacock*, *Tho. Hooke* (B'ham Deeds, No. 181,722).

1717, Trin. Term 4 Geo. Copy of indenture of fine between *Thomas Orme* and *Henry Cambden*, sen., plaintiffs, and *Charles Shephard* and *Joyce* his wife, and *John Bromwich* and *Margaret* his wife, deforciant of 3 messuages, 2 barns, and 1 acre of land in B'ham (B'ham Deeds, No. 181,723).

1718, Mch. 31. Mortgage by sd. *Henry Cambden* to *Edmund Dolphin*, of Camp Hill, hingemaker, of part of barn and piece of land as above. Wits., *Chr. Hooke*, *Tho. Hooke* (B'ham Deeds, No. 181,726).

1718, Mch. 25. Deed endorsed "Collateral Security," by which sd. *John Bromwich* leases unto sd. *Henry Cambden* and *Elizabeth Houlston*, of B'ham, widow, 2 messuages, etc., in or near Moat Lane in B'ham, for a term of 60 years, signed by all the parties. Wits., *Chr. Hooke*, *Joseph Townesend*, *Tho. Hooke* (B'ham Deeds, No. 181,724).

1722, Apl. 17. Conveyance from *John Cambden*, of Stockwell, par. of Lambeth, co. Surrey, gent., son and heir of *Henry Cambden*, the elder, late of B'ham, knife cutler, to *Edward Hiccox*, of B'ham, tallow chandler, of part of a barn, etc., and land (as above), in Court Lane, B'ham. Wits. *John Massey*, *Jno. Traunter* (B'ham Deeds, No. 181,737).

Attempts to find wills of the family at Lichfield and in P.C.C.,

have been very unsuccessful, only the following administration turning up :—

1720, Oct. 4. Commission issued to *John Cambden*, son of *Henry Cambden*, late of B'ham, widower, decd., to administer goods, etc., of said decd. (P.C.C. Admon. Act Book, fol. 204).

Mr. Bickley tells me that William Harvey, of Birmingham, sword cutler, whose will was dated 6 Sept. 1735, and who died 25 Sept. 1741, left a daughter Mary, who was of age, and married to John Cambden, in 1749. Mr. Homer sends abstract of will of Elizabeth Harvey, of Birmingham, spinster, dated 27 Apl. 1743, and proved 14 April 1744 at Lichfield, in which she mentions her niece Mary Cambden, child of her late brother William Harvey, and then apparently under 21. Mr. Bickley notes that "Mr. John Cambden, Castle Inn," subscribed £2-2-0 towards the establishment of the General Hospital at Birmingham in 1765, and that "Mast. Cambden, at the Boarding School at Barr," was a subscriber to Calcott's *Thoughts Moral and Divine*, 1759.

From the foregoing evidence we can construct the following little pedigree :—

**HENRY CAMBDEN**, of par. of St. Martin's, B'ham, knife cutler; perhaps related to Ann "Camden," of town of Warwick, who mard. Ralph Smith, of Henley, at St. Martin's, in July 1658; purchased land at Gowers Farm, Northfield, co. Worc., on 25 Mch. 1707, and erected blade mill thereon; admon. granted 4 Oct. 1720, in P.C.C. Mard. 20 Apl. 1682, at St. Martin's, B'ham, to Mary Allen, of that par., who was burd. there 18 July 1692, having had issue (in addition to "a child" burd. 5 Sept. 1689 at St. Martin's),

- I. John Cambden, son and heir, born 9 May 1683; bapt. 25 May 1683 at St. Martin's, B'ham; of Stockwell, par. of Lambeth, co. Surrey, gent., 17 Apl. 1722; of the same, "clerk," 16 Sept. 1727 (he was not a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and I have no record of his being in orders).
- II. Henry Cambden, of B'ham, innholder; born 17 July 1686; bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham; burd. 24 Sept. 1728 at St. Philip's, B'ham; mard. Hannah —, and had issue,
  - a. Mary Cambden, born 7 Oct. 1712; bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham.
  - b. Elizabeth Cambden, born 12 Feb. 1714/15; bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham.



- c. John Cambden, born 16 Dec. 1716; bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham; of the Castle Inn, B'ham, 1765; perhaps burd. 24 July 1776 at St. Philip's, B'ham; mard. Mary (perhaps burd. 15 Dec. 1782 at St. Philip's, B'ham), dau. of William Harvey, of B'ham, sword cutler,\* and had, with no doubt other issue,
    - (a.) Elizabeth Cambden, burd. 29 Oct. 1743 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
    - (b.) Hannah Cambden, burd. 14 Mch. 1748/9 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
    - (c.) Mary Cambden, burd. 24 Jany. 1749/50 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
    - (d.) John Cambden, burd. 6 Feb. 1753 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
  - d. Thomas Cambden, born 18 Nov. 1718; bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham; burd. 20 July 1720 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
  - e. Hannah Cambden, burd. 4 Oct. 1723 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
  - f. Henry Cambden, burd. 4 Dec. 1723 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
  - g. Sarah Cambden, burd. 22 Jany. 1728/9 at St. Philip's, B'ham.
- III. William Cambden, bapt. 2 Feb. 1690/1 and burd. 12 July 1691 at St. Martin's, B'ham.
- I. Mary Cambden, born 15 Aug. 1684; bapt. 7 Sept. 1684 at St. Martin's, B'ham; living 16 Sept. 1727 as wife of Robert Macbraire, of Worcester, linen draper.
  - II. Elizabeth Cambden, bapt. 10 Jany. 1688/9 at St. Martin's, B'ham; living 16 Sept. 1727 as wife of Thomas White, of Gloucester, glover.

It is pretty clear that Henry Cambden [1686-1728], the younger, kept the Castle Inn, Birmingham, and that after his death his widow Hannah, and later his son John Cambden, were in control. It is of interest to find that Johnson's uncle, "Nath. Ford" (at this time a clothier at Stourbridge—see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 155) was a witness to the signature of this Henry Cambden in 1727, suggesting some association between the families before Johnson made the Castle Inn his postal base in Birmingham.

The identity of "Mrs. Roebuck, who was once Miss Camden," who died about Aug. 1777, remains undisclosed. I have made considerable efforts to trace her, but without success. There is, however, every reason to imagine that she would be nearly related to Johnson's

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\* I presume she was closely related to the Rev. Samuel Harvey, bapt. at St. Martin's, B'ham, in 1698, son of a sword cutler, and died 17 Apl. 1729, aged 31, who was a friend of the Rev. Edward Brodhurst (see *ante*, p. 95) and a student of Greek (Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 86-7; *Harleian Soc.*, XLVI., 163).

old friend, the landlady of the Castle Inn. As the name Roebuck is not native to Birmingham or district, it is natural to assume that her husband would be akin to the celebrated inventor, John Roebuck [1718-94], who married Ann Roe at St. Philip's, Birmingham, on 3 Aug. 1747, and lived many years in the town. John Roebuck was a member of the congregation of the New Meeting at Birmingham, so perhaps the nonconformist records would throw light upon the Camden-Roebuck connexion (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, pp. 89, 121).

The Castle Inn stood in the Rother Market (or Beast Market) length of the High Street, at the corner of Castle Street, with two other inns, The Hen and Chickens, and The Angel, immediately to its south (*ibid.*, pp. 43, 59, 92, 108). Henrietta, Lady Luxborough, the friend of Shenstone, in a letter to the poet of Easter Sunday, 1748, asks him to direct his answer "to Mr. Ironmonger, Master of the Castle-Inn," Birmingham (*Letters of Lady Luxborough to William Shenstone*, 1775, p. 16). Mr. Bickley tells me that in the settlement on marriage of George Birch to Mary, only child of Thomas Newell, dated 11 Dec. 1770, is mentioned "all that messuage or Inn formerly called the Reyne Deer, but then known by the sign of the Castle, situate in the High Street in Birmingham." Hill, in his map of Birmingham early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, shows "The Reindeer" inn in Edgbaston Street, contemporary with and a considerable distance away from the Castle Inn (*Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 1907, p. 108). Mr. Bickley says that there is an advertisement in *The London Gazette* of 11 May 1691, of a stage coach running to London every Monday morning at 6 o'clock, from the "Rain Deer" inn in Birmingham. There were evidently two Rein Deer inns there, though perhaps not at the same time. It does not seem likely that The Castle Inn of 1734 would be described in 1770 as formerly called the Rein Deer.

*Note to Appendix M.*—The intimate and extensive diary of Sir Willoughby Aston, 2<sup>nd</sup> bart. (see *ante*, p. 241), in 4 vols., from Mch. 1681 to Oct. 1702, was acquired in 1927 by the Liverpool Public Library. It contains frequent references to his Offley and Crewe connexions.

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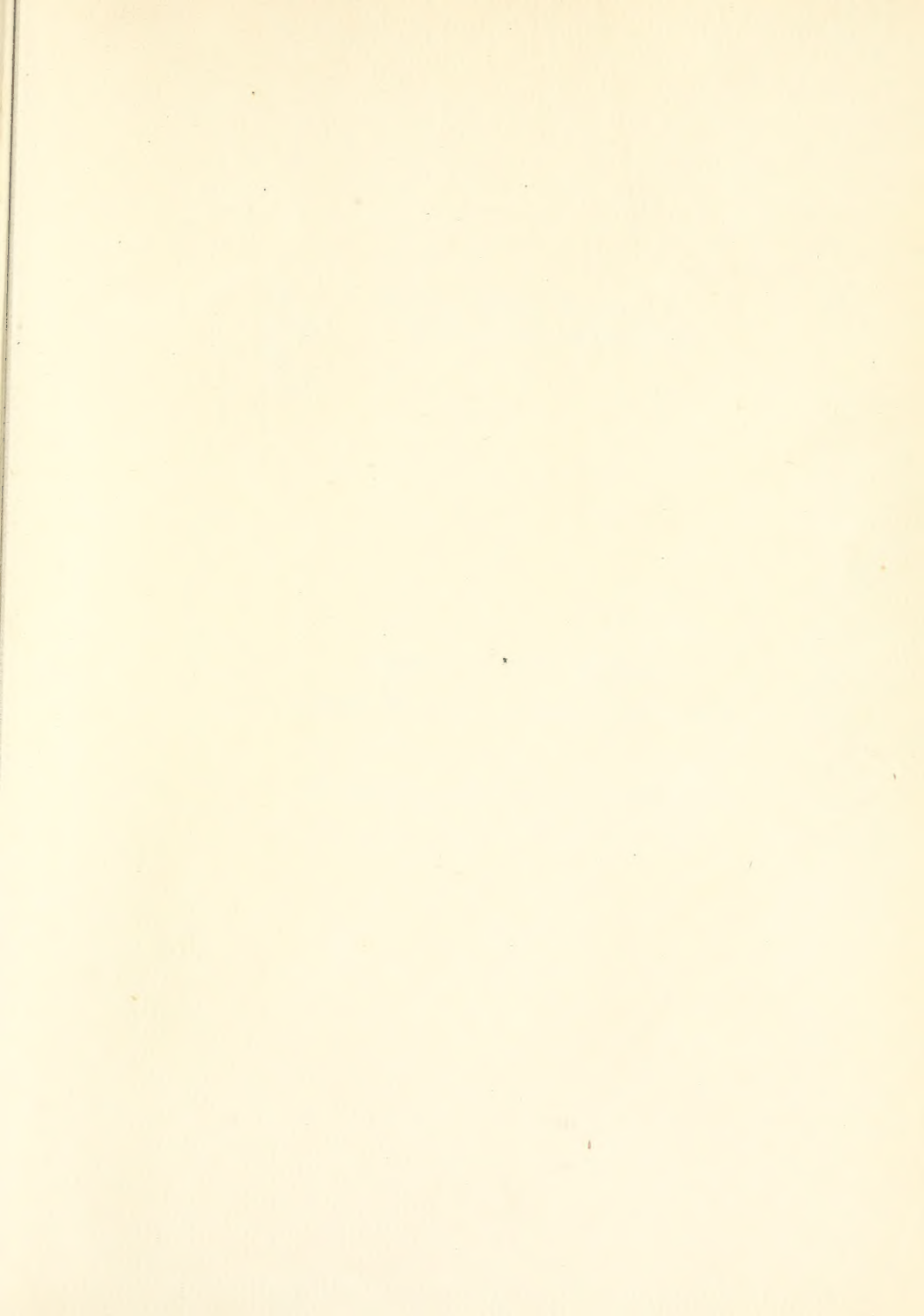
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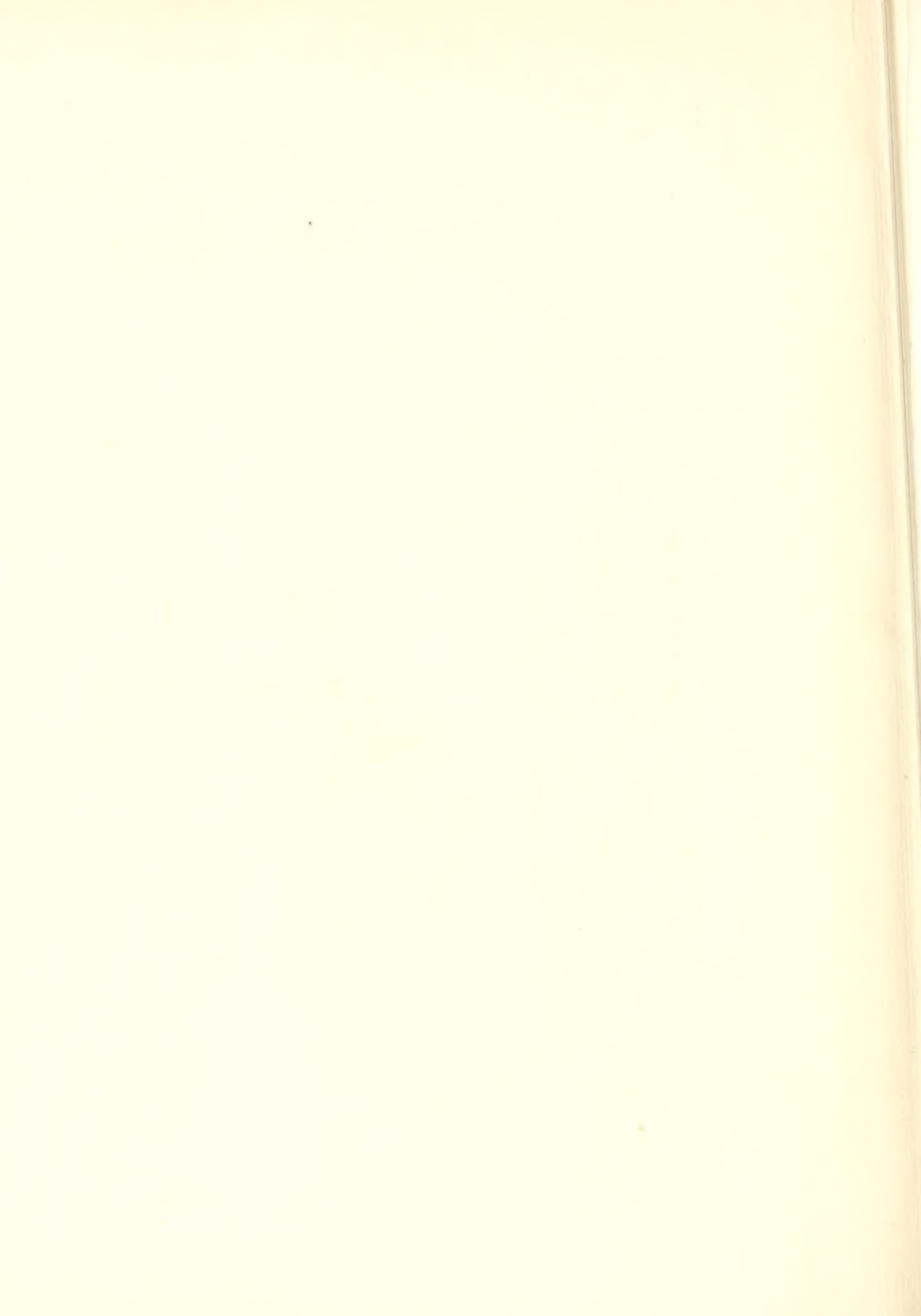
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